

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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ART. I. — THOMAS SHEPARD, AND THE EARLY FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND.\*

A NEW interest has been awakened of late years in the history of the early settlement and the early settlers of New England, and several valuable contributions have been made to our literature upon this subject. A closer investigation of the character and principles of our Puritan fathers has, in most cases, served only to deepen our respect and admiration. Even the grave errors with which they have been charged admit of great palliation, if not of complete defence. They had shining virtues, whose quenchless light will illumine the ages, and against which a petty detraction, like a serpent hissing at the sun, spends its foul breath in vain. Their faults were, in part at least, the faults of the age in which they lived. They did a great and good work in their day ; and should be held, and will be held, in eternal honor for what they did. The large-minded lover of liberty and truth in our own times finds so much to thank them for, that he is slow to reproach them, even where at first sight they seem to have deviated widely

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\* *Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England.* Vol. I. *The Life of John Cotton.* By A. W. McCLURE. Boston : Mass. Sabbath School Society. 1846. 12mo. pp. 305. Vol. II. *Lives of John Wilson, John Norton, and John Davenport.* By A. W. McCLURE. Boston : Mass. Sabb. School Society. 1846. 12mo. pp. 305. Vol. III. *The Life of John Eliot, with an Account of the Early Missionary Efforts among the Indians of New England.* By NEHEMIAH ADAMS. Boston : Mass. Sabb. School Society. 1847. 12mo. pp. 323. Vol. IV. *The Life of Thomas Shepard.* By JOHN A. ALBRO. Boston : Mass. Sabb. School Society. 1847. 12mo. pp. 324.

from the course which he, standing on a higher point of view, sees to be the wisest and best. It is a narrow, an ungrateful, an unjust spirit, which, passing by their many and great merits, sneers at their failings, — forgetting their childlike piety, laughs at the superstitions which were sometimes incorporated with it, — or, turning away from their noble sacrifices for conscience and truth, points scornfully to their own intolerance towards the heretics and agitators of *their* jurisdiction. “It is too much,” says Macaulay, “that the benefactors of mankind, after having been reviled by the dunces of their own generation for going too far, are to be reviled by the dunces of the next generation for not going far enough.” Our Pilgrim fathers were *men* ; had their faults ; committed mistakes ; sinned, too, no doubt, in some of their doings or sayings ; and, as we believe, held, mingled with the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, an erroneous system of theological doctrines, derived from Calvin, not from Christ. This was only what was to be expected. “It is not possible,” said Robinson, in his noble parting address to the first little band of exiles, “it is not possible that the Christian world should have come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.” We do not claim for the fathers of New England an exemption from human error and frailty ; we do not demand for them an unqualified and extravagant admiration ; but we do maintain that a fair and candid judgment of their merits, — a judgment, also, by the light and standard of their own times, — will place them high among the true heroes and benefactors of mankind. We owe them, the world owes them, a debt of gratitude and reverence never to be cancelled or forgotten.

We therefore hail with satisfaction every well-performed endeavour to retouch and bring out the fading inscriptions on their venerated tombs, to revive the memory of their virtues, and to keep it in fresh lustre in the eyes of their posterity from generation to generation. We thank the individuals to whom we owe the publication of the works which stand at the head of this article for what they are doing towards this object. “The Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society,” as is stated in the Introduction to the first volume, have determined

“to prepare a series of biographical sketches of some of the distinguished men who were God’s instruments in making this



country what it is. These volumes will collect and present in one view every thing which relates to them, that can be recovered from scattered confusion and from oblivion. It is intended that this exhibition shall bring out the characters, actions, sufferings, and principles of these remarkable men in such form as may interest and profit the general reader, and not be unuseful to such as may be studious of the early history of our country." — p. vii.

The plan of the proposed publication, as expressed in the attractive title, "*Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England*," is certainly one which will meet the cordial approbation of all who love the memory of our ancestors ; and if it be well carried out, the work cannot fail to be an acceptable and useful one. The volumes which have already appeared have, on the whole, given us much satisfaction. Saving a few passages in which the doctrinal views of the writers come into collision with our own, we give them a cordial welcome. Coming as they do from Orthodox sources, and designed specially, we suppose, for the Orthodox community, we regard it as a good sign of the times that there is so little to be objected to on this score. The first two, by Rev. A. W. McClure, were originally prepared by him, we believe, for a series of Sunday evening lectures, delivered at the Park Street church in Boston. This, perhaps, will account for the rhetorical and somewhat florid style of portions of them ; and for the sermon-like close of some of the chapters, — a little different, we think, from what it would have been, had they been written only for the eye. There is, however, a glow, vigor, and warmth about the style which will make it agreeable to most readers. It is sometimes deficient in simplicity, elegance, and ease, — is occasionally careless and incorrect, — but is almost always graphic and spirited. Mr. McClure gives us the biographies of the first four ministers of the Boston church, Cotton, Wilson, Norton, and Davenport, all of them men of high repute in their day for piety, virtue, and talent. About half of the first volume, which purports to be the biography of Cotton, is taken up with general matter relating to the history of the Puritans, and to the principles and merits of the Congregational system as adopted by our fathers. We were at first disposed to object to this, as not being exactly in place, nor expected, in a professedly biographical narrative. But the portions of the book to which we refer are so well written, and contain so clear and vigorous a vindication of Congregationalism, that we are on the whole glad

to see them introduced where they are, as we think them more likely to be generally circulated and read in this form, than if they were published by themselves or in an argumentative treatise. So with the second volume, containing the lives of Wilson, Norton, and Davenport. A considerable portion of it is devoted to a defence of our fathers against the oft-reiterated charges of persecution, bigotry, and intolerance. It contains an interesting and forcible statement of the considerations which may be urged to justify or to extenuate their course. In both these volumes there are passages containing theological sentiments to which we do not agree, flings at Arminian and Unitarian opinions, and lamentations over the apostasy of some of the present generation from the old dogmatic faith and ecclesiastical order of the New England churches. But they are only what we might expect from an Orthodox writer feeling strongly on the subject, and sometimes letting his zeal get the better of his judgment. We have no disposition to criticize or to be offended with them. It is not to our present purpose to discuss the points on which they touch.

The lives of Eliot and Shepard, in the third and fourth volumes, are very free from objectionable matter of this kind. Their writers had wisdom and good taste enough to know that it is not always necessary or judicious to hang out their sectarian flag. The life of the Roxbury "Apostle," by Mr. Adams, contains a full account of the Indians of New England, of their interviews with Eliot, of their questions and religious confessions. Some of these last, we think, might have been omitted without impairing the value or interest of the work. Mr. Adams introduces, also, some remarks upon the position and claims of Congregationalism, which are so just and liberal, that we would gladly help to circulate them as widely as possible by transferring the substance of them to our own pages.

"It is not to be understood," he says, "that Mr. Eliot, as a true Congregationalist, supposed that any form of church government was imposed by Christ or the Apostles upon the Christian church, as being in any way essential to the existence of a true church of Christ. With regard to the appointment of any special form of church government, it would seem that there is a wise silence in the New Testament. The genius of Christianity forbids an adherence to any form of ecclesiastical order as essential to the existence of a church of Christ. This truth was declared by Christ at Jacob's well to the Samaritan woman." — p. 63.

“ Our preference for the Congregational form of church government is not properly founded on any prescriptions in the New Testament, but on our convictions that this form is most accordant with the genius of Christianity, and of republican institutions. But so surely as we insist on Congregationalism as having any ‘divine right’ or authority, and we seek to propagate Congregationalism with such convictions, we are as surely High-Churchmen and Puseyites as can anywhere be found. To insist on the absence of all forms, and on the perfect simplicity of worship, with a sectarian spirit, shows as great an attachment to a *form of worship* as though we urged the adoption of all the ceremonies of the cathedral. We may be as bigoted in favor of simplicity as of any thing else, and a Quaker and a Congregationalist may be as much a formalist and a Churchman as any other.” — p. 64.

“ He who says, ‘No church without simplicity of worship,’ and he who says, ‘No church without a bishop,’ are two extremes which meet. At the same time, we shall be the degenerate sons of men who made such sacrifices for purity in worship as did the Pilgrims, unless we adhere to our simple and beautiful mode of church government and worship, as preferable to any other.” — p. 65.

There is another passage, however, relating to a different subject, in which the author’s comments may startle our readers a little, as they certainly did us. They contain what seems to us very strange and questionable doctrine, and such as will hardly be accepted in our days, even with so Orthodox an indorsement, however it might have passed current in the days of Eliot. We do not remember to have seen it anywhere so openly and broadly stated before. We imagine that there are very few preachers, however pious and pure-minded (for, according to Mr. Adams, they must be eminently such to do the work of imprecation acceptably), who will venture, even “in their nearest approaches to God,” upon a practical application of this doctrine; and that there are few congregations, however sound in faith and devout in feeling, who would tolerate it. They feel that Jesus and not David, that John of Ephesus and not his namesake of Roxbury, are to be our guides and examples in this matter. They cannot easily forget the dying prayer of the Saviour, nor the rebuke which he once administered to the beloved disciple, who, in the childhood of his faith, not yet knowing what manner of spirit he was of, but full, no doubt, of “a righteous indignation,” wished to call down fire from heaven,

as did Elias, upon those who had ill-treated his Master and himself. We do not believe, — God forbid that we should hope! — with Mr. Adams, that such language as Christ himself rebuked will ever “come into more familiar use by the people of God, in their nearest approaches to him.” We will quote the whole passage, that our readers may judge of it for themselves.

“Mather speaks of the singular and surprising successes of Mr. Eliot’s prayers. He mentions the following fact. They who are displeased at David’s imprecations against his enemies may see in it that a good man may pray for the destruction of the incorrigibly wicked, when great and good ends will be accomplished by it, leaving it submissively to the appointments of the all-wise God. A good man never ventures to pray in this manner, except when he is under a strong influence drawing him very near to God with holy freedom and boldness. At such times his feelings are eminently pure; and it is in such times that good men feel impelled to pray for the removal of those who oppose God, and hinder others in their salvation. No doubt, if there were more of ardent piety, there would be more of righteous indignation against the obstinate opposers of religion, and we should find ourselves better able to understand the feelings and language of David, when praying against the enemies of his throne and of the God who ruled by him. That language will come into more familiar use by the people of God, in their nearest approaches to him, as they go forth with their King and Saviour in his conflicts with his enemies.

“The fact to which the allusion has been made was this: —

“There was a pious gentleman of Charlestown, by the name of Foster, who, with his son, was taken prisoner by the Turks. The news being spread in this vicinity, the good people offered up many prayers for his deliverance. But it was reported that the prince within whose authority he was a prisoner had resolved that within his reign no captive should be set free. The friends and acquaintances of this man then concluded that his captivity was hopeless. Soon after, on some public and solemn occasion, Mr. Eliot used these direct and forcible petitions. ‘Heavenly Father! work forth deliverance of thy poor servant, Foster; and if the prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him so long as himself lives, Lord, we pray thee to kill that cruel prince; kill him, and glorify thyself upon him.’ Soon after, the prisoners returned and brought news that in consequence of the untimely death of the prince they had been set at liberty.” — pp. 67 – 69.



Much as we admire and love the good old missionary, we cannot take him for a pattern in all things, certainly not in this. We would follow him, and we would follow David, only so far as with them we can follow Christ. According to the doctrine of the foregoing passage, the devout patriot, and the pious advocate for peace, when their "feelings are eminently pure," will pour them out in ardent, death-invoking imprecations against those who would plunge their country into an unholy war, or who are pertinaciously pursuing any wicked and ruinous course of public policy. They may be persuaded that the accumulating mischief is chiefly the work of one man at the head of the nation, "the cruel prince," who, with the spirit of a Turkish despot, slaughters his thousands in cold blood in the council-chamber. If Eliot was right, why not pray, as Eliot did, — "Lord, kill that cruel prince," — and save the nation? We confess we cannot go so far as this. We cannot take such prayers as Eliot's for our model. There is another, of which it reminds us, from a kindred source, but mingling the quality of mercy with that of righteous indignation, which we like much better. One of the old Scotch Covenanters, waxing warm in his prayer against some persecuting Catholic prince, exclaimed, — "Take him, O Lord, and shake him over the pit of hell! Shake him over the pit of hell! *But, O Lord, dinna let him fall in!*"

We have not had time and opportunity to investigate and verify for ourselves all the facts and dates contained in these volumes. We have no reason to doubt their general historical accuracy; we take it for granted, that the writers have been faithful and scrupulous in this respect. But we know from experience how minor errors, and sometimes more important ones, are copied from book to book, from generation to generation, without question or suspicion, until accident or persevering research has detected and exposed them. In the volumes already noticed, we do not perceive that any new facts have been brought to light in regard to the history of the ministers or of the times in which they lived. Perhaps it is not to be expected. We suppose, that, in most cases, little more is to be done in this way. The harvest has been fully gleaned. A new life of an ancient New England worthy will be in a great measure only and necessarily a concoction of the old matter already gathered by previous writers; among whom, for industrious accumulation at least, the palm must be given

to Cotton Mather,\* who, with all his follies and pedantry, should have the credit of having preserved a great amount of information and anecdote respecting our ancestors. Our modern biographies are, in parts, only expurgated chapters of the "*Magnalia*," in a newer dress.

The fourth volume of the series, by Mr. Albro, contains the biography of "the faithful and famous Shepard," the minister of Cambridge. This we have read, perhaps from personal bias, with special interest and pleasure, both as a well-written memoir of one of the most eminent of our New England clergy, and because it throws some new light on a part of his ministry with which we were previously unacquainted. In the prosecution of his inquiries on this subject, looking among the manuscripts in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Albro very unexpectedly and fortunately came upon some unpublished letters of Mr. Hooker to Mr. Shepard, his son-in-law, serving to elucidate one of the trying periods of his ministry, which had escaped the researches of former biographers, and had gradually passed into oblivion. Our readers who are interested in such matters have seen the curious autobiography of the Cambridge pastor, dedicated to his son and namesake, the minister of Charlestown, for whose use it was written. It is a rare document of its kind, and was not generally known to be in existence till within a very recent period. The original manuscript, in the handwriting of Shepard, after passing through various hands, finally came into the possession of Rev. James B. Howe, of Claremont, N. H., and was by him sent to Rev. Nehemiah Adams, then pastor of the Shepard Congregation-

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\* Mr. McClure, who in one place speaks feelingly of Cotton Mather as one "so grossly slandered and maligned in our days," has himself, in a particular instance, done him a little unintentional injustice, in his reference to a story told by Mather of Mr. Cotton's meekness and self-control under an affront. "Mather," he says (Vol. I. p. 283), "relating the circumstance in his *magniloquent* style, remarks,—'Mr. Cotton would not set the beacon of his great soul on fire at the landing of such a little cockboat.'" The fact is, that, in this case, Mather tells his story with unwonted simplicity; and his "*magniloquent*" remark upon it is not of his own manufacture, but is a borrowed squib, taken from the admired Fuller, who says, in his "*Holy State*," B. III. ch. 8,—"*Be not mortally angry with any for a venial fault. He will make a strange combustion in the state of his soul, who at the landing of every cockboat sets the beacons on fire.*" The "*maligned*" Mather has sins enough of style, at least, to answer for, without being made wholly responsible for this little "*cockboat*" of another. We do not think that he meant to pass it off as his own. We would fain do him all justice in this, as we believe we have done in other and graver matters.

al Society in Cambridge, with permission to print it for the benefit of the church connected with that society. It has recently been presented to the library of Harvard University. It was first published by Mr. Adams in 1832, and the proceeds appropriated to the purchase of a set of communion-plate for his church. A corrected edition of it, with notes, has recently appeared in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts." This precious and interesting record has, of course, formed the basis of the present extended biography; and has given Mr. Albro a manifest advantage over his predecessors, by furnishing him, in a connected form, and from the fountain-head, with the necessary materials for his work. We confess, that, preferring, as we do, a man's own words, in his account of himself, to those of any modern editor or commentator, however faithful and competent, we should have been glad, if it had been deemed equally suitable to the purpose, to have had Shepard's original narrative unaltered for the body of the work, with such notes as might be needed, and a supplement, carrying on the history from the point at which Shepard stopped. We do not wish, however, to find fault with what has been done so well on a different plan, which perhaps better answers the main object of the publication, designed as it is for young people and for popular use.

To speak of some minor matters, — we observe that the decipherer and transcriber of Mr. Hooker's letters, in releasing them from their long imprisonment, has in some instances misreported his Latin. The mystical chirography of the Hartford patriarch, made still dimmer by age, will account in part for the mistakes which now appear on the printed page. Several of his Latin sentences are incorrectly presented. E. g., p. 241, "Has premises," we suppose, should be *His præmissis*; p. 243, "Sint mutua preces" should be *Sint mutua preces*; p. 257, "Saluta salutanda" should be *Saluta salutandos*; p. 279, for "Qui bene habuit, bene vixit," read *Qui bene latuit*, etc. So in the Latin quotation, on p. 275, from Cotton's Preface, we observe several misprints. These errors, though they may not be perceived or cared for by the great majority of readers, ought not to pass unnoticed and uncorrected. With other verbal blemishes, which we might point out, in the preceding volumes, we would notice them in no hypercritical spirit, but in the hope of doing something by a word

of caution to check the carelessness of our printers and editors. We trust that they will be corrected in future editions. We must add to them the errors of date and fact which appear on p. 189 of the *Life of Shepard*, where it is stated that "Mr. Hutchinson came to Boston in company with Henry Vane, in 1633." He arrived in the Griffin, in the autumn of 1634, with his wife, the celebrated Ann Hutchinson; but not in company with Sir Henry Vane, who did not come over till a year afterwards.

We cannot let this opportunity pass without expressing the hope, that the work which has been, in the main, so well begun, will be executed, in all its parts, with the ability and finish which its subjects so richly deserve; that those who may be employed in its preparation will not content themselves with a superficial knowledge of the times and the persons they describe, gathered in an easy way from the most obvious materials, nearest at hand, but will draw from all available sources; will unite with its popular character such a correctness of detail, and thoroughness of historical research, and fidelity to truth, that it may be read with satisfaction by the student and the antiquary, as well as the less educated, and may be referred to with confidence as a standard authority upon the topics to which it relates.

Among the early ministers of New England whose lives and characters are portrayed in these volumes, there is no one, we think, who stands as a better specimen of the good old Puritan pastor than Shepard; no one to whose merits as a preacher and divine there is found a more cordial and unanimous testimony; no one whose ministry was on the whole more happy, peaceful, and influential. Cotton had his enemies and gainsayers; Norton's sun went into a cloud in his latter days; Eliot drew upon himself the censure of the civil authorities for the writing of his "*Christian Commonwealth*," and was compelled publicly to retract and disown the offensive sentiments contained in it; he had the pain, too, of seeing his long-cherished hopes and devoted labors in behalf of his Indian brethren grievously disappointed. Shepard seems to have pursued, from the beginning to the end, an even tenor of prosperous ministerial labor, beloved by his people, and universally esteemed and admired by the community, blessed with a steadily harmonious church, and happy in his domestic relations. It is remarkable, that, "al-



though he was a prominent and an efficient actor in scenes of controversy and public disorder which stirred up all the fountains of bitterness, such were his candor and tenderness, that the odium of persecution was never attached to his memory ; and, while subject to like passions, and exposed to the same temptations, as other men, his reputation has descended to us without a blot from friend or foe." We have thought that a sketch of his life and ministry might not be unacceptable to our readers, as illustrating the character of our clerical fathers, and the spirit of the times in which they lived.

Thomas Shepard, like the greater part of the early emigrants to New England, was from the middle class of English society. He was the son of a tradesman in Towcester, in Northamptonshire. His father was "a wise, prudent man, the peacemaker of the place, and toward his latter end much blessed of God, both in his estate and in his soul." His mother, a conscientious and religious woman, died when he was but four years old. He was too young to feel her loss at the time, but it cast a shadow over his childhood, which he began to perceive when his father married a second wife, "who did let him see the difference" (happily, not always known) "between his own mother and a step-mother." He was unfortunate, too, in his early school life. The master under whose tuition he was first placed was a tyrant in his little kingdom, "exceedingly curst and cruel," ruling by the fear of the rod ; and under his reign the faculties of the trembling child remained chilled and dormant. "He would deal roughly with me," says Shepard, "and so discouraged me from all desire of learning, that I remember I wished oftentimes myself in any condition, to keep hogs or beasts, rather than to go to school and learn." The Welch pedagogue of Towcester, like some modern empirics, who profess to cure all diseases by one and the same remedy, imagined that all varieties of capacity and temperament were to be managed by one and the same course of treatment. Shepard, a delicate, timid, shrinking boy, was crushed by a severity which might have stimulated a rougher and duller nature. What he needed was a judicious kindness to encourage and bring him forward. To these troubles and discouragements of his childhood was added another heavy calamity, the loss of his father, who died when he was ten years old. He was now left under the care of his step-mother, by whom his education was much neglected. But, happily for him, he did

not remain with her long. His oldest brother, now arrived at manhood, offered to take him under his charge, and to bring him up, for the use of the portion, £100, which had been left him by his father. This pleasant change in his own situation, and another which soon after took place in the village where he lived, placed him under influences more favorable to his happiness and improvement. The "cruel schoolmaster" died, and was succeeded by one of a milder temper and a better way of teaching. This man, who also officiated as a preacher in the same place, and was eminent in both his callings, exerted a happy influence over the mind of young Shepard. "It so fell out," he says, "that this man stirred up in my heart a love and desire of the honor of learning, and therefore I told my friends I would be a scholar; and the Lord blessed me in my studies, and gave me some knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, but much ungrounded in both." At about the age of fifteen he entered the University of Cambridge. This was in 1619.

During the first two years of his college life, although he seems to have been diligent in his studies, he accuses himself of neglect of God and private prayer. "The third year," he says, "wherein I was Sophister, I began to be foolish and proud, to show myself in the public schools, there to be a disputer about things which now I see that I did not know them at all, but only prated about them." Afterwards he fell into idle company, and though he was sometimes much affected and alarmed by the preaching which he attended, and by the conversation of his religious friends, he was for a time in danger of being led into vicious courses by thoughtless and dissipated associates. His principles, however, were too firmly rooted, and his conscience too quick and tender, to permit him to remain long under their influence. He was thoroughly awakened to his peril by that which has often proved to others the commencement of corruption and ruin to the whole man, body and soul. At a carousal at a college room, one Saturday night, he became "dead drunk," and was carried in this state to the chamber of a fellow-student, where he awoke the next morning to a full sense of his degradation and to all the horrors of remorse. The shame and self-loathing which followed his sin so wrought upon him, that from this moment he resolved to separate himself from his dangerous associates, and to live a devout and holy life. "When I was worst," he says, "God began to be

best unto me." He now gave himself to a course of religious inquiry and meditation. He had been educated under Calvinistic preaching and in the Calvinistic faith; and the operations of his mind under the influences of this faith, during the process of his religious change, which he describes with some minuteness, were such as might be expected from the doctrines in which he believed. He was for a time in great agony of mind, under fear of Divine wrath. "I had some strong temptations," are his words, "to run my head against walls, and brain and kill myself. And so I did see, as I thought, God's eternal reprobation of me, a fruit of which was this dereliction to these doubts and darkness; and I did see God like a consuming fire and an everlasting burning, and myself like a poor prisoner leading to that fire; and the thoughts of eternal reprobation and torment did amaze my spirits." Gradually his doubts and fears passed away; a clear and brightening faith succeeded the horrible gloom that had hung over him; he became a sincere and settled Christian, with the peace and assurance which he sought. After more than six years' residence at the University, and six months' study with the Rev. Thomas Weld, having taken his second degree in 1627, and received ordination from the Bishop of Peterborough, he commenced his ministry at Earls-Colne, in Essex. Here he preached with great acceptance and success for three years and a half, until the famous, or rather infamous, Laud became Archbishop of London. This arbitrary, superstitious, and persecuting prelate, whose furious intolerance drove so many of the best and purest of the English clergy into exile, was determined to show no favor or mercy to the Puritans. He carried into ecclesiastical affairs, of which he had the chief direction, the same despotic and oppressive policy which was pursued by King Charles and his advisers in other matters. Under the royal authority, he silenced all preaching by ministers who were not strict conformists to the ceremonies and discipline of the Established Church. Soon after his elevation to the archbishopric, he sent for Shepard, who was under suspicion of non-conformity, though, as he says, he had as yet thought little on the subject, and had formed no decided opinion about it. The account of the interview, preserved by Prince in an extract from a manuscript of Shepard's, now lost, is curious and interesting, both as it illustrates the character of Laud, and as it shows the goading treatment which our Pu-

ritan ancestors had to undergo in the maintenance of their principles.

"December 16, 1630. I was inhibited from preaching in the diocese of London by Dr. Laud, bishop of that diocese. As soon as I came in the morning, about eight of the clock, falling into a fit of rage, he asked me what degree I had taken in the University. I answered him, that I was Master of Arts. He asked, 'Of what College?' I answered, 'Of Emmanuel.' He asked how long I had lived in his diocese. I answered, 'Three years and upwards.' He asked who maintained me all this while, charging me to deal plainly with him; adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant faction than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words, he looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague-fit, to my apprehension, by reason of his extreme malice and secret venom. I desired him to excuse me. He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying,—'You prating coxcomb, do you think all the learning is in your brain?' He pronounced his sentence thus:—'I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocese; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.' I besought him not to do so in regard of a poor town. And here he stopped me in what I was going to say. 'A poor town! You have made a company of seditious, factious bedlams. And what do you prate to me of a poor town?' I prayed him to suffer me to catechize in the Sabbath days in the afternoon. He replied,—'Spare your breath. I'll have no such fellows prate in my diocese. Get you gone; and now make your complaints to whom you will.' So away I went; and blessed be God that I may go to Him."

After being thus forbidden to preach, he remained at Earls-Colne for some months, his people urging him to stay among them as their friend and counsellor, though no longer their minister in the house of God. During this period, he became fully convinced, upon further study and reflection, of the unscriptural character and evil tendency of some of the ceremonies of the English Church. Probably Laud was informed of this; at any rate, he was evidently apprehensive of Shepard's exerting a Puritan influence among his people in private, though silenced as a preacher. On visiting his diocese, he again cited Shepard to appear before him. "He



asked me," writes Shepard, "what I did in the place ; and I told him I studied. He asked me, What ? I told him, the Fathers. He replied, I might thank him for that ; yet charged me to depart the place. I asked him, Whither should I go ? To the University, said he. I told him I had no means to subsist there. Yet he charged me to depart the place." This sounds strangely in the ears of an American, who has been accustomed to think of religion as an affair between himself and his God alone ; and who would regard it as an intolerable violation of the first rights of man to be controlled in the expression of his opinions, or in the choice of his residence.

Banished from his flock in Earls-Colne, Shepard accepted an invitation from Sir Richard Darley, a gentleman of Yorkshire, to become chaplain in his family. After a very narrow escape from drowning, in passing a bridge overflowed by the late heavy rains, he arrives, wet and chilled, late on Saturday night, at his new patron's. He is cordially welcomed. But the pleasure of his hospitable reception is sadly damped by the scene which presents itself as he enters the knight's house. He had hoped, perhaps, to see in the gentleman's mansion something like that which so charms us in Burns's beautiful picture of the "Cotter's Saturday Night." But he finds the backgammon-board, instead of the Bible, spread open upon the table ; the rattling of dice, instead of the sound of prayer ; the laugh and the light jest, instead of the grave conversation or the meditating silence which at his Earls-Colne home had preceded the Sabbath. He describes his deep dejection of spirit at this time, in a strange place, far from his friends, in a worldly, game-loving family, and "in a vile, wicked town and country." His situation, however, proved much more pleasant and satisfactory than he at first expected. "For though the lady was churlish, Sir Richard was ingenious," and the other members of the family very kind and attentive. Among these was Mistress Margaret Touteville, the knight's kinswoman, in whose society and affection he soon forgot his past troubles and present discouragements. He says, with great simplicity, that about the time of his going into Yorkshire he had a "great desire to change his estate by marriage ; and had been praying three years before that the Lord would carry him to such a place where he might have a meet yoke-fellow." With this predisposition on his part, in addition to

the charms and merits of the lady, we may easily anticipate one of the results of his residence at Buttercrambe. His account of the change which his preaching wrought in the family, and his description of his first wife's character, are, as usual, somewhat quaint and artless.

"Not long after his arrival at Sir Richard's, there was a marriage of one Mr. Allured, a most profane young gentleman, to Sir Richard's daughter; and I was desired to preach at their marriage. At which sermon the Lord first touched the heart of Mistress Margaret with very great terrors for sin and her Christless estate. Whereupon others began to look about them, especially the gentlewoman lately married, Mrs. Allured; and the Lord brake both their hearts very kindly. Then others in the family, viz. Mr. Allured, he fell to fasting and prayer, and great reformation. Others also were reformed, and their hearts changed; the whole family brought to external duties, but I remember none in the town or about it brought home. And thus the Lord was with me, and gave me favor and friends, and respect of all in the family; and the Lord taught me much of his goodness and sweetness. And when he had fitted a wife for me, he then gave me her, who was a most sweet, humble woman, full of Christ, and a very discerning Christian, a wife who was most incomparably loving to me, and every way amiable and holy, and endued with a very sweet spirit of prayer. And thus the Lord answered my desires. When my adversaries intended the most hurt to me, the Lord was then best unto me, and used me the more kindly in every place. . . . . And thus I did marry the best and fittest woman in the world unto me, after I had preached in this place about a twelvemonth."

The three years which followed his marriage, in 1632, were years of trial, perplexity, and danger to the Puritan preacher. After many troubles and perils, which we need not detail, he at length sought an asylum and a home in New England. Embarking under the assumed name, as is supposed, of his brother, John Shepard, he arrived, in the autumn of 1635, at Boston, and immediately after took up his abode at Cambridge, where he became pastor of the church which was organized in that place towards the close of the following winter. Governor Winthrop, an eyewitness of the scene, has left a very full account of the whole transaction,\* which, taking into view the distinguished character of the assembly convened on the occasion, is invested with a peculiar

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\* Savage's Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 179.

and remarkable interest. The ordination of Shepard over his new charge took place, it seems, not long after, but upon what day we have no record to tell us. It is a little singular that he himself does not mention it.

About a fortnight after the church-gathering, his wife, whose health had long been failing, died of a consumption, brought on by her exposure and fatigues on the voyage from England. She left one son, Thomas, to whom the autobiographical memoir from which we have quoted is dedicated. In the introduction, the father feelingly alludes to her, in words which will come home to the heart of many a child whose mother yet lives to love and watch over him.

“After God had given thee the ordinance of baptism, thy dear mother died in the Lord, departing out of this world to another, who did lose her life by being careful to preserve thine; for in the ship thou wert so feeble and froward, both in the day and night, that hereby she lost her strength and at last her life. She hath also made many a prayer and shed many a tear in secret for thee; and this hath been oft her request, that if the Lord did not intend to glorify Himself by thee, that He would cut thee off by death, rather than live to dishonor Him by sin. And therefore know, that if you shall turn rebel against God, and forsake God, and care not for the knowledge of Him, nor to believe in His Son, the Lord will make all these mercies woes; and all thy mother’s prayers, tears, and death a swift witness against thee at the great day.”\*

Soon after the settlement of Shepard arose the famous Hutchinson controversy. The whole country was thrown into commotion by it; but it was put to rest by the Synod held at Cambridge in 1637. Mr. Shepard took an active and influential part in confuting and suppressing the dreaded Antinomian heresy, thus unexpectedly springing up to mar the peace of the churches. “And it was with a respect unto this vigilancy,” says Mather, “and the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that, when the foundation of a

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\* The youth to whom these solemn and touching exhortations were addressed did not disappoint the hopes of his parents. He became a distinguished and useful man, the minister of the church in Charlestown, where he died of the small-pox at the age of forty-three. His only son, of the same name, and settled over the same church, had a brilliant but brief career, dying at the age of twenty-seven. He had also a daughter, Anna, married to Daniel Quincy, from whom one of the great men of our country and times was descended. Her only son, John Quincy, was the great-grandfather of John Quincy Adams, who was thus a descendant, in the sixth generation, of the “faithful and famous” Shepard. — See *Young’s Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 558.

college was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary, out of which proceeded many notable preachers, who were made such very much by their sitting under Mr. Shepard's ministry." It was with reference to the newly broached doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers, that Shepard wrote his course of "Sermons on the Parable of the Ten Virgins," published after his death by his son, aided by Mitchell. This is the largest of his works, and its merits may be inferred from the high esteem in which it was held by President Edwards, who, in his "Treatise on the Religious Affections," refers to it, and quotes it in a great number of passages. Edwards calls him that "famous experimental divine."

Shepard suffered a heavy loss in the death of his tried friend and parishioner, Harlakenden, in 1638; and soon after, a severe fit of sickness interrupted his labors. Two years after this, as appears from certain expressions in his diary, now more fully explained by the letters of Hooker already referred to, published by Mr. Albro, he was involved, in common with his people, in great pecuniary embarrassments, which, for a time, threatened very serious consequences, and even made him think of a removal to Matabeseck (Middletown), or some other plantation.

"This event in the life of Shepard," says his biographer, "is exceedingly interesting, not only as throwing light upon the trials and hardships to which our fathers in the ministry were subjected in the early days of New England, but especially as it brings out a prominent and beautiful feature of Mr. Shepard's piety. The purity of gold is tested by the crucible; and this trial of a faith 'more precious than of gold that perisheth' developed a state of mind which, amid the abounding hypocrisy and selfishness of the world, it is delightful to contemplate. The manner in which he stayed himself upon God, and rebuked his discontent, and quietly continued his labors under a burden of debt and of want, which, upon ordinary principles, would have justified his removal, may serve as a model. Ministers are doubtless subjected to many trials growing out of an insufficient maintenance; and the people may be more or less in fault for the embarrassments which distract their pastors. *But a hasty removal to Matabeseck is not the only cure; nor will impatience and discouragement and complaint make the burden any lighter.*" — *Life*, p. 250.

Mr. Shepard was a zealous coadjutor with Eliot in his en-



deavours to civilize and convert the Indians. There was no one of the clergy, with the exception of that devoted missionary, who did more for them than he. In a little publication of his, entitled "*The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians of New England*," he gives an interesting account of the progress which had been made in the conversion and civilization of the natives in his vicinity. He was also, as might be expected, an active friend and helper of the College in its struggling infancy. He coöperated with President Dunster in his well-conceived plan of concentrating upon the College the patronage of all the Colonies, and of obtaining from the people at large contributions for the maintenance of indigent students. His agency in carrying it into effect appears from the following passage in Winthrop's History, under date of May, 1645.

"Mr. Shepard, the pastor of the church in Cambridge, being at Connecticut when the Commissioners met there for the United Colonies, moved them for some contribution of help towards the maintenance of poor scholars in the College; whereupon the Commissioners ordered that it should be commended to the deputies of the general courts, and the elders within the several colonies, to raise (by way of voluntary contribution) one peck of corn, or twelve pence money, or other commodity, of every family, which those of Connecticut presently performed."

Shepard's memorial on this subject has been preserved,\* and will be read with interest. "The tenor of it," as President Quincy remarks, "strikingly illustrates the simplicity and the poverty of the times." We find, also, that Shepard took a leading and active part in the establishment and vindication of the Congregational system, as adopted by our fathers. In this work he stands by the side of Cotton, Hooker, and Norton. He engaged in the discussion which was commenced in 1636, by some of their Puritan brethren in England, respecting "*the New Church-Way*." In conjunction with Mr. Allen of Dedham,† he wrote an elaborate answer to Ball's

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\* Hazard's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 17.

† What share each had in the work, we have now no means of ascertaining. Dr. Lamson of Dedham, a successor of Allen, was led, some years ago, to examine the question of its authorship, and, in a note appended to his Centennial Discourses, delivered in 1838, has given the result of his investigations. The evidence which he adduces seems to us to show, very conclusively, that it was the joint production of the two ministers. It was certainly so regarded and spoken of in their time, and long afterwards in New England. The son of Shepard, in his Election Sermon, refers to it as

strictures upon the Doctrine and Discipline of the New England Churches, which was published at London in 1648. In this treatise, says his biographer, "every thing necessary to a clear understanding of the discipline and order of the New England churches is explained and vindicated with a degree of learning and ability unsurpassed in any work of our Puritan fathers ; and no one can read it attentively without assigning to its author [authors ?] a high place among the controversial writers of that age."

In such labors, and in the quiet and faithful discharge of professional duty, the life of the good pastor rolled on, short in years, long in usefulness and honor, greatly blessed on the whole, but not without its clouds. In 1646 he lost his second wife, the eldest daughter of Mr. Hooker, to whom he was married in 1637. "She was a woman," to quote his own description of her, "of incomparable meekness of spirit, towards myself especially, and very loving ; of great prudence to take care for and order my family affairs, being neither too lavish nor too sordid in any thing ; so that I knew not what was under her hands. She had an excellency to reprove for sin, and discern the evils of men. She loved God's people dearly, and was studious to profit by their fellowship, and therefore loved their company. She loved God's word exceedingly, and hence was glad she could read my notes, which she had to muse on every week. She had a spirit of prayer beyond ordinary of her time and experience. She was fit to die long before she did die." \* Shepard's autobiography closes with the account of his wife's death. We learn from other sources that he was again married, in 1647, to Margaret Boradel, by whom he had one son, Jeremiah, who was minister of Lynn, and died in a good old age.

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written by "Mr. Allen of Dedham, with my honored father." It seems, however, according to Dr. Lamson's statement, that a part of the first edition, published in 1648, was afterwards garnished with a false title-page, dated 1653, on which Allen's name is omitted, though still retained in the Preface. This we believe to be an unauthorized omission, though Mr. Albro gives it as his opinion that "the book was, without doubt, substantially the work of Mr. Shepard." If by this he means what we understand by the language, we think he has claimed for Shepard more than the evidence will warrant, and has therein done some injustice to Allen, who was a writer of acknowledged controversial ability.

\* Only one of her children, Samuel, grew up to manhood. He died very soon after his settlement in Rowley, at the age of twenty-six. He is spoken of by Mitchell as "a very precious, holy, meditating, able, and choice young man, an excellent preacher, most dearly beloved at Rowley, and of all who knew him."

Mr. Shepard continued in the midst of an attached and affectionate people, honored and beloved by his contemporaries, until his death, which took place August 25, 1649, in the forty-fourth year of his age. It is thus noticed by Morton, in his "New England's Memorial." "This year, 1649, August 25, that faithful and eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Shepard, died, who was a soul-searching minister of the Gospel, and pastor of the church of Christ at Cambridge. By his death not only that church and people, but also all New England, sustained a very great loss; he not only preached the Gospel profitably and very successfully, but also hath left behind him divers worthy works of special use in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul to God and man; the benefit thereof those can best experience who are most conversant in the improving of them, and have God's blessing on them therein to their soul's good."

The writings of Shepard, which had much reputation in his own day, and are quoted with great respect by succeeding authors, — Edwards, as we have mentioned, among the rest, — are now very little known, and scarcely to be met with, except in some of our public libraries or in the collections of the antiquarian. This oblivion of the works of one who, but a few generations since, stood in such high estimation in the churches of New England, both as a preacher and as a writer, is a striking commentary upon the uncertain and evanescent nature of popular fame. With the changes that are perpetually going on in forms of style, and modes of thought, and subjects of discussion, it is not to be expected that any works but those of the rarest genius should long outlive their own time. Shepard's, having served their turn, must share the common fate. Newer tongues, uttering his thoughts, must clothe them in words of a newer shape and more modern arrangement. Shepard's sermons and treatises would probably fail to interest the general reader of the present day, even though a Calvinist; certainly they would not please those whose sentiments and views of religion on many points differ from his so widely as ours. Making allowance, however, for this difference of taste and opinion, and putting ourselves in the situation of those who agreed and sympathized with him, we may find in the dead voice of his writings enough to show what the living voice of the preacher must have been. There is a serious, earnest tone of thought and language running through them, much familiar illustration, and great di-

rectness and simplicity. His style of preaching, according to all the accounts which have come down to us, was remarkably penetrating, impressive, and affecting ; so that, though he is described as " a poor, weak, pale-complexioned man," he had great power over the feelings of his audience. We have often likened him in our thoughts to our own Henry Ware. " Of Mr. Shepard, I have been told," says Prince, " that he scarce ever preached a sermon but some or other of his congregation were struck with great distress, and cried out in agony, — ' What shall I do to be saved ? ' Though his voice was low, yet so searching was his preaching, and so great a power attending, as a hypocrite could not easily bear it, and it seemed almost irresistible."

He was a close student, and diligent in his preparations for the pulpit, which he usually finished by two o'clock on Saturday afternoon. We commend his rare, but praiseworthy, example to his brother ministers, few of whom, we suspect, finish their sermons even by the sunset of Saturday. " God," he once said, " will curse that man's labors, that lumbers up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday in the afternoon goes into his study ; when, as God knows, that time were little enough to pray in and weep in, and get his heart into a fit frame for the duties of the approaching Sabbath."

Notwithstanding his faithfulness and his success, it appears from his diaries, that he, like every teacher in every age, was often dissatisfied with himself and discouraged in the work of his ministry. It may be a consolation to some doubting and half-disheartened brother, to know that even one so highly esteemed and admired as Shepard often had fears and misgivings like his own. The following is one of his occasional meditations.

" I saw on the Sabbath four evils which attend me in my ministry. First, either the Devil treads me down by discouragement and shame, from the sense of the meanness of what I have provided in private meditations ; and unto this I saw also an answer ; to wit, that every thing sanctified to do good, its glory is not to be seen in itself, but in the Lord's sanctifying of it : — or from an apprehension of the unsavoriness of people's spirits, or their unreadiness to hear in cold or hot times. Secondly, or carelessness possesses me, arising because I have done well, and been enlarged and been respected formerly ; hence it is no such matter, though I be not always alike. Besides, I have a natural dulness



and cloudiness of spirit, which does naturally prevail. Thirdly, infirmities and weakness, as want of light, want of life, want of a spirit of power to deliver what I am affected with for Christ ; and hence, I saw many souls not set forward nor God felt in my ministry. Fourthly, want of success in me, when I have done my best."

That he was a man of most fervent and childlike piety, penetrated with a deep and constant sense of his accountability to God, — of great single-heartedness and devotion in his work, — a meek, humble, conscientious Christian, — no one can doubt. Like the rest of the early Puritan clergy of this country, he was a Trinitarian and a Calvinist. He did not attempt to throw a veil over the peculiar features of his creed. He preached it in all its terrors, yet with an affectionate zeal for the salvation of those whom God might call to himself through his ministration of the word. "When Mr. Shepard comes to deal with hypocrites," said Ward of Ipswich, "he cuts so desperately, that men know not how to bear him ; he makes them all afraid that they are all hypocrites. But when he comes to deal with a tender, humble soul, he gives comfort so largely, that we are afraid to take it." Whatever we may think of his theology, there can be but one opinion of the preacher and the man.

We cannot better conclude this notice of one of the chief fathers of New England than in the language of his biographer : —

"When we consider the rich Christian experience which Mr. Shepard attained, the sacrifices which he cheerfully made for the sake of Christ and his Gospel, the great amount of ministerial and other labor which he performed with feeble health and manifold hindrances, the attainments which he made in sanctity and the knowledge of divine things, the able theological works which he produced, and the influence, felt even now, which he exerted in building up the churches of New England, — and all this ere he had passed the meridian of life, — we must regard him as one of the brightest ornaments of the Church, and hold his memory in profound and grateful remembrance."

W. N.

*Wm. Knell*

ART. II. — INDUCTION OF CHRIST'S NATURE FROM  
THE UNIVERSE.

THE great eternal body of truth, binding in its embrace all worlds, and extending its sway unchangeably through all time, must be in every part consistent with itself ; else were it no more truth. The universe were unworthy to be the creation of that God who changeth not, if unbroken harmony and self-consistence prevailed not through its whole extent. Truth being but a name for *that which is*, distinguishing it from that which is not, its very conception is, to the believer in a just and omniscient Deity, blended with the assurance that it harmonizes throughout all its parts. Amid the perplexities and apparent contradictions which sometimes crowd upon the inquiring mind, tending to shake its confidence in the unity of truth, the thought of what we are, of the lowness of our point of vision, and the infinite exaltation of God, must reassure its wavering faith. He alone who made, and whose laws sustain, all things, sees them divested of every mystery, and, glancing through all that has been, is, or shall be, perceives the whole scope, meaning, and harmony of the universe. Inferior intelligences, seeing but in part, vainly strive to reconcile creation's many mysteries ; and some, alas ! in their weakness, have declared them irreconcilable.

Let a figure show the relation in which we all stand to truth's eternal whole, and to each other. The earth on which we live is, in many points, its fitting image, — complete, diversified, harmonious, beautiful, seen but in part. Climb to earth's highest mountain-top ; the part thou seest is but a point of its vast expanse, yet is that part most lovely. So, man ! when thou hast reached the pinnacle of human intelligence, the portion of all knowledge thou hast attained is but as nothing to what thou knowest not ; yet pleasant and glorious is thy little. From a thousand hill-tops may earth's beauties be enjoyed, which, though differing widely, are all real and consistent. So from a thousand mounts of vision mayst thou survey truth's fair realm, and though the scene be ever changing, still is it truth. Men there are, whose steps have only scaled the little hillock behind their native home, who listen incredulously to the traveller's narrative of Alpine wonders, and, with malicious smiles, quote their dead fathers to bolster up their ignorance, while some will even drive the

harmless stranger from their doors. Those, too, there are, who, having excavated for themselves narrow wells in the body of truth, and walled them around with cold, hard creeds, strive to cast all men therein, claiming that they alone are right, and that heaven can be seen only from their own depths of dogmatism. Others there are, also, who, casting off the galling chains of authority, earth's slave king, and walking in the light of the divine fire within, and the bright radiance of Christ's teachings, have reached a lofty point of vision, where, as far as mental eye can reach, lies spread out the world of truth, spanned by the calm, clear heaven of enlightened hope.

From all this flows the practical inference, that whoso loves truth and comprehends its vastness will look with no hollow charity on what he may esteem the errors of others; never assuming the thunders of denunciation, save against those who, with ruthless hand, would tear from man his rights of thought, and doom him to the dismal vaults of hypocritical profession. Whoso knoweth himself saith not to his neighbour, "Thou art wrong"; but rather, "Friend, I think thou art wrong." He uses the language of a man, not the dictation of a God. Unroll the bloody scroll whereon man's history is written; thou wilt find stain after stain recurring ever, in melancholy witness that man trusteth not in the silent, resistless power by which truth vindicates itself. Persecution, with all its ghastly train, has been evoked to expel from the human heart the heresy which God himself there planted, that reason and evidence alone can claim the right to control belief. Nor even yet is the spirit whence sprang all these enormities banished; for day after day do self-elected saints still, by word and deed, declare, "I am holier than thou."

The train of investigation on which we propose to enter may subject us to the censure of some sincerely pious minds. Yet an honest conviction of the correctness and importance of our conclusions urges us to speak decidedly, and should at least disarm criticism of all personal bitterness. Fain would we exercise and experience the charity we have inculcated. The proposed theme is, to deduce, as far as practicable, the nature of Christ from the acknowledged constitution of the universe.

If truth be one, the volumes of nature and revelation must harmonize. Firm in this belief, our sympathies go not with those whose distrust of the self-vindicating power of reveal-

ed truth would close against the panting soul the portals of the universe, consigning philosophy and reason to endless night. Reason gives to revelation its only legitimate credentials, and shall it be banished from its interpretation? Shall it not rather be our ally in attempting to dissipate the darkness which arbitrary and dictatorial interpretation has spread over even cardinal truths of Christianity? Weak indeed must be that faith which fears that reason can derive from the works of God a contradiction to the true meaning of his word!

That feature of the universe to which we would now draw attention is its *demonstrated vast extent*. All speak of creation as infinite, but most persons, we presume, attach no full idea to this expression. We call the stars suns, but most persons conceive of them merely as brilliant points. We speak of the planets as larger than the earth, but our conceptions dwarf the solar system to an insignificant orrery. The greatest of astronomers, after enlarging his ideas by years of constant effort, still fails to conceive of the universe as his intellect informs him that it is. Many truths there are thus claiming our assent in the enunciation, which we wholly fail to comprehend in all their extent and magnitude. Yet are we not less certain of their being truths, for we feel all confidence in the methods by which they are demonstrated.

In entering the field we have chosen, it may be apposite to give an outline of the process by which the heavens are scaled. Commencing with a unit of length, a base line of a few thousand yards is most carefully measured on the ground. Starting from this base, the angles of a series of triangles are accurately measured, and the sides calculated. Distant points being thus connected and their difference of latitude being astronomically determined, the length of a degree becomes known, and hence the earth's diameter. A transit of Venus across the sun's disk, observed by two distant observers, then gives the elements of an accurate determination of the sun's distance. The earth in its revolution around the sun reaches, at intervals of about six months, opposite extremities of the diameter of its orbit, distant about 190,000,000 of miles. If the angle subtended by one half this line at the distance of a fixed star were greater than one second, or  $\frac{1}{3600}$  of a degree, a parallax would be observed, and the distance of the star become known. Until recently, observation has failed to discover any star having this annual parallax; but now three are recognized as exhibiting it, that



of 61 Cygni, of less than one third of a second, corresponding to a distance of 62,581,500,000,000 miles. No star is known to have a parallax corresponding to a distance less than 20,000,000,000,000 miles, though numerous observations have been made in search of such. Thus has our humble unit, by methods of unquestionable accuracy, enabled us to measure *distances* utterly inconceivable, but not the less real.

Equally incomprehensible is the countless *multitude* of stars revealed by the telescope. In Herschel's reflector, about 50,000 were estimated to have been visible in a sweep of  $2^{\circ}$  by  $15^{\circ}$ ; and every increase of telescopic power serves only to reveal them in vastly greater numbers. Even the number of nebulae observed (over 3,000 having been recorded as seen) exceeds our distinct conception, and new ones are daily added; yet most of these, on the application of high powers, are resolved into an immense number of stars. Doubtless we may say, with literal truth, that the stars visible by our present telescopic means are more numerous than the grains of sand on the earth we tenant. And who shall say what unbounded numbers may yet be revealed by enlarging those means, and what still more inconceivable multitudes no human eye shall ever see? Assuming, according to Herschel's estimate, the first seven magnitudes to contain 20,000, and assuming Struve's law for the increase of number in the diminishing magnitudes, the sixteen now subject to telescopic observation would contain somewhat over 5,000,000,000.

That each star is a sun, a magnificent, luminous body, is proved by the very fact of their being visible at such enormous distances. Dr. Wollaston, by satisfactory experimental methods, has shown, that, at 141,400 times its present distance, our sun would appear of the brightness of Sirius, while the parallax limit beyond which this star is known to be is more than 200,000 times that distance; hence Sirius is a more powerful illuminating body than the sun. Taking this as an index of *magnitude*, every fixed star becomes a body of volume vastly superior to any our minds can conceive. Their sum, then, would make up a volume as perfectly baffling our comprehension as does their distance or their number.

Equally legible are the traces furnished by the sidereal universe of the flow of immeasurable cycles of *time*; though as yet they are only traces, and not demonstrations. Since astronomy became a science, scarcely time enough has elapsed

to serve as a unit in the estimation of the vast periods thus shadowed forth.

Thus does the universe present to us the real, actual, *demonstrated* personification or embodiment of the three grand infinitudes of distance, number, and magnitude, together with a glorious but glimmering reflection of the infinity of time. No idea which we can attach to these infinities approaches in grandeur and elevation to the true signification of the sublime propositions which our intellects thus demonstrate. But such truths rest not for their reality on our comprehension of them ; they are true in themselves, and would not cease to be so, though no created intelligence had ever dreamed of their existence.

Equally substantive and real is that sublime law which binds in one embrace the infinite fields of heaven. No proposition ever enunciated by human lips seems to have accumulated so many undeniable, experimental proofs of truth, as the simple law, that a mutual attraction acts, in the inverse ratio of the squares of their distances and directly as their masses, between all the particles of matter in the universe. The human intellect never appears more godlike than when, with no guide but this one law, it unravels the simple, yet complicated, movements of our solar system, and predicts, with unfailing certainty, the exact instant and circumstances of occurrence of the varied phenomena it exhibits. The aching head and weary hand may, perhaps, be betrayed in some lone column of an ephemeris ; but in the main, certainty most absolute rewards the night-long watchings and laborious calculations of the true disciple of Newton and the law which he discovered. Though "not a sparrow falls to the ground" without the action of the force of gravity, the astronomer furnishes proofs most sublime and unanswerable, that its law prevails with unbroken harmony throughout the universe. Not only do the members of our solar system implicitly obey it, but hosts of yonder glorious suns, whose distance reduces them, in our eyes, to mere twinkling points, concur in sublime testimony that such is the will of God. Struve's catalogue records 3,063 double stars, and about 6,000 have been observed, most of which are, doubtless, moving around their centres of gravity, and a considerable number in calculated orbits. It is a speculation of Sir William Herschel, but one bearing almost the force of demonstration, that our sun is a member of a nebula containing most of the stars vis-

ible to us. The nebulae are evidently distinct groups of stars, many of which are so distant, as to appear, in the most powerful instruments, merely as spots of light ; from which they are found in all stages of resolvability, to the Pleiades, partially resolvable by the naked eye. Just as satellites revolve around their primaries and the planets around the sun, is the sun, doubtless, revolving around the centre of motion of the milky way nebula, and this nebula, with its numerous kindred, revolving around the grand centre of nebulae. A proper motion of our solar system through the fields of space has been rendered almost certain, and the point towards which it is moving approximately determined. Thus truly may we say, that the sublimest of known physical facts is the simple, all-pervading law which controls the movements of worlds, suns, and systems of suns.

The converse fact, which has just revealed to us the planet Neptune, that wherever this law is found by observation to prevail, there must be actual masses of matter to receive and exhibit its action, proves the binary stars to be, not merely luminous volumes, but truly material bodies. Their magnificent mutual orbits and intense illuminating power indicate that their masses must be enormous. The variable stars, whose light is shown by observation to undergo periodic variations of intensity, regularly succeeding at stated times, in some cases distinctly indicate rotation around an axis, and in others eclipses or transits by planets, or opaque, dark bodies. Indeed, every known fact relating to those remote regions indicates the prevalence of the same physical laws which control our nook of the universe, binding in harmonious union millions of systems analogous in organization to that in which we live. The beam of light, whose speed of motion no mind can conceive, though it come from suns so remote, that, ere man's history began, it had left its source only to reach us now, — even this mysterious agent, sole messenger to us from that distant host of heaven, obeys the same laws, exhibits the same nature, as the rays of our own glorious luminary, when his impartial splendors are pouring life into the great heart of man. Throughout the infinite fields of space, too, reigns the grand, almost terrible law of seclusion, insuperable seclusion, which, though attraction's mystic cord binds all worlds together, ever isolates each, and bounds to one certain home each soul connected with a material frame. Thus, in all its parts, the universe bears convincing traces of

unity of design, testifying to one creating power, and the continual control of one law-sustaining power.

Filled with an overwhelming conception of its vastness, and of the grand simplicity of its known laws, the mind asks earnestly, yet meekly, the Omnipotent Creator's sublime object in creating and sustaining a universe like this. Can any one doubt that it has an object commensurate in importance with its greatness? None but the atheist, and there are no atheists among those who in the least comprehend this greatness. Consciousness, reason, and revelation concur in answering, that God created the universe for intellectual and moral objects, as its great end. They alike testify, that, to effect these objects, it must be made throughout its parts the home of moral intelligences. The God whose benevolence peopled each nook and corner of earth has surely extended a like providence over the countless worlds of space. Sir John Herschel says, — "He must have studied astronomy to little purpose, who can suppose man to be the only object of his Creator's care, or who does not see in the vast and wonderful apparatus around us provision for other races of animated beings." In this, doubtless, all will agree. To us it would seem almost blasphemous seriously to claim that God has bestowed his noblest work only on this minute atom, leaving all the rest of the vast creation an unenjoyed, untenanted blank. Rather does it seem to us, nor do we think the idea savors of Materialism, that the physical extent of the universe is a true exponent of the number of intelligences which it contains. That such a relation exists between the human race and the earth which it inherits, varying with its general civilization, cannot be denied; analogy would lead us to extend it to each member of the universe, — an extension quite in accordance with its acknowledged object.

Hence fairly flows an inference most humbling to human pride, yet pressing home with all the force of truth on the mind thoroughly imbued with the premises, — that in the entire scheme of creation, the human race occupies a position not less subordinate in importance to the aggregate of created intelligences, than is our earth to the whole physical universe. Were this world at once blotted out from existence, the fact could be known only to the inhabitants of perhaps four of our planetary neighbours. To all beyond our system, the event, in itself, would be for ever unperceived. Nor



can we reasonably suppose, in view of the constitution of the universe, that the complete annihilation of the human race would be to the great mass of created intelligences a more important event than would now be to us the extinction of a race tenanted some undiscovered world in the farthest bounds of space. Most difficult is it for us correctly to conceive of our true position in the creation ; as all our modes of thought, our daily occupations, our fostered feelings of pride, combine to exaggerate our estimate of man's importance, and to blunt our perceptions of all that lies beyond our immediate sphere of cognizance. But as the eternal stars would shine on unchangingly, though no human eye received from them one ray of light, so unaltered by human denial or ignorance must remain man's relations to God and the creation. All wit and reason and denunciation cannot make this earth larger, or the universe smaller, — cannot exalt man to sovereignty, or annihilate one of those moral intelligences which it is God's will should be. It becomes us, then, to enlarge our conceptions by every effort, until we image this world as but one among many, and man but as the type of millions of races really existing in the boundless realms of space. This is to pursue no wild fantasy, but calmly to submit to the dictates of enlightened reason. Rather is his the fantasy, in God's sight, who would exalt man and the earth he tenants to supreme importance. Kindred, but far less grotesque, were a project for all men to declare by acclamation some invisible infusorial monad king of all the earth, for whose sole benefit was it made, for whom alone man lives.

It is by familiarity with the astronomer's magnificent discoveries and accurate methods that the mind gradually conceives of the universe as a fact, as a real, existing creation. Few, we fear, thus conceive of it ; few see, in "the spacious firmament on high," more than did the Chaldee shepherd or the self-deluding astrologer. Yet is it not more certain that there was a Napoleon, than that the firmament contains all, and far more than all, the magnificence we have so faintly portrayed.

Thus far, it is hoped, no debatable ground has been touched. We now pass to the specific application of all which precedes, — the induction of Christ's nature, so far as may be, from the constitution of the universe. And, first, let us examine the belief most generally accepted, that he is a person of the Holy Trinity. We will take the first "article of

religion" of the Protestant Episcopal Church as a fair and authoritative exposition of the Trinitarian doctrine. It is as follows : — " There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions ; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness ; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity : the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Throughout the universe, so far as observation extends, the same physical laws are found to prevail, indicating one legislator, whom we call God. The Trinitarian doctrine divides this God into three equal persons, two of which persons exist solely in relation to man. Aside from the destinies of the human race, we can conceive of no special function of the second and third persons. If God be three persons, he must for ever have existed as such, or at some period of his existence he must have changed his nature. To suppose his *eternal* nature to have been fixed with sole reference to man, the veriest atom in his moral universe, is so abhorrent to reason, so derogatory to his greatness, that no one possessed of reason or reverence can for a moment entertain the thought. Nor can any one, comprehending man's subordinate position in creation, conceive that any emergency in his history would be a sufficient cause to the infinitely great Creator for a radical change of his own nature. If God be a Trinity, it must, therefore, be for other reasons than his relations to man. It may be said, that his relations to other races of beings are analogous to those he bears to us, so that the moral emergency requiring a Trinity everywhere exists. Has Christ, then, died on all the millions of worlds which people the limitless realms of space ? God forgive the thought ! It is too cruel to be harboured. Or did Christ die here once for all created beings ? Not a word from his lips indicates any other mission than one for man's salvation. Apart from revelation, there are billions of chances against our world's being selected as the theatre on which to enact the tragedy of redemption for the universe. Hence would it require an almost infinite amount of evidence to prove that Christ's earthly mission concerned any other race than man. Thus, whichever way we turn, the Trinitarian doctrine forces us into an incongruity of the grossest kind. It constrains us to think of God as a being dependent in his whole nature on man, a creature of his creation, and whose importance in the

boundless realms he governs is but that of a grain of sand on the sea-shore !

In this connection, the Trinitarian doctrine may be viewed in another and more decisive light. This doctrine stands in direct opposition to the Unitarian belief. The one asserts the equal and essential Godship of three ; the other, that God the Father alone is the Omnipotent God, of whom Christ is a creature, subject to the disposition and government of his Creator. These doctrines, which cannot both be true at the same time, are both deduced from the same inspired sources, and sustained by reference to the same records. Men of equal Biblical learning, sagacity, and honesty of purpose are found among the believers and supporters of each. Hence it may be argued, that, to an impartial mind, the testimony of the Scriptures on the point at issue cannot be entirely decisive. A person truly unprejudiced would not, therefore, pronounce either doctrine inadmissible, except for some extraneous reason. Now suppose a mind perfectly free from all bias of education on this subject, perfectly honest, and only inquiring which doctrine is true. In want of positive proofs, it would naturally investigate the relative *a priori* probability of the two propositions, and adopt that which has the greater probability with a proportionate force of belief. As the balance of probabilities against the truth of a proposition prevails, it becomes more difficult of belief ; the more decided this preponderance becomes, the greater is this difficulty, and hence the more irresistible must be the testimony necessary to claim belief. When this predominance is infinite, the proposition becomes absolutely incredible.

To apply this. Suppose that this earth constituted the entire universe, and that both doctrines were then equally credible. Let another world, similarly constituted and inhabited, now be added, and how stands the case ? In the universe, as it is, analogous circumstances lead us to suppose analogous inhabitants in other worlds. On our hypothesis, the second world would stand in the same need of a Christ as our own, as also the third, the fourth, and so on to infinity. This supposition would require, then, an infinite number of Christs, unless God be unjustly partial to this earth, which is not supposable. That Jesus is successively dying in these countless worlds is an intolerable thought. But unless this be so, or God be unjust, there must be, on our hypothesis, as many analogues of Christ as there are worlds to be saved. These,

having all the same office, must all require the same nature ; hence, if Christ be God in the Trinitarian sense, there must be an infinity of Gods in the same sense, which is positive contradiction. But in the Unitarian sense there may, without conflict, be as many analogues of Christ as there are worlds to be saved. Thus, on the hypothesis that the universe abounds in worlds and races like our own, the Trinitarian doctrine is entirely untenable, while the Unitarian remains unshaken. But this hypothesis has all the weight of analogies, general and minute, in favor of its truth ; thus certainly inclining the balance of probabilities vastly in favor of the Unitarian doctrine.

The only remaining hypothesis is, that all the races inhabiting other worlds are above the need of a Saviour like Christ. Of course, we can know nothing positive in relation to the moral state of the inhabitants of other spheres ; but we can show the vast improbability of the hypothesis in question. All worlds are subject to the same physical laws ; hence we should infer the control of the same moral laws. Analogy of physical states renders probable like moral states. Hence, in our want of positive knowledge, we must suppose that the inhabitants of Mars are as likely to require a Saviour as man ; the same of Venus, and so of the infinite multitude of worlds. Hence the hypothesis, that, contrary to all these probabilities, man alone requires a Saviour, is, *a priori*, exceedingly improbable. Again : if a pile contain a million white balls, and only one black one, the chance that a blind man in his first choice will select the black one is one against a million. So the chance, *a priori*, that you or I should be born into the only black-balled world in the universe is one against the whole number of other worlds, or infinitely small ; yet here we are. Now the actual occurrence of an event of such vast hypothetical improbability throws the weight of that improbability on the hypothesis itself. Hence we may say, that to suppose our moral state entirely singular in the universe is to indulge a vastly improbable conjecture ; so we must recur to our first hypothesis, and regard that as a highly probable fact. Its necessary consequence was, that Christ is not equal in exaltation to God the Father.

The previous reasonings lead to a conception of Christ's nature which has removed from our mind all the rational and Scriptural difficulties before encountered. Just as there are grades of magnitude in the physical universe, such as satel-



lites, planets, suns, nebulae, etc., may there be grades of moral beings between us and God. Grade may rise above grade, with towering moral majesty, in an infinite progression, terminating at last in God, one and undivided, God the Father. Our conceptions become quickly confused and inadequate in this Godward struggle; the obscure of sublimity checks our lofty soarings. Long before we reach the infinite head of this progression we are overwhelmed by powers and attributes which to us are those of God.

There are those among our fellow-mortals so exalted by intellectual and moral greatness, that we feel in their presence a profound veneration. This feeling, in its most elevated and purified form, is that which so draws and binds the righteous soul to Christ and God. Divested of the infirmities of human nature, they claim, by reason of their own purity and greatness, the highest homage of man's veneration. Intermediate between us and God, in the ascending scale, but holy and glorious and *God-like* far beyond what our hearts have conceived or can conceive, we see Christ, ever living to judge us by the precepts and example of his own life on earth; God to us, far above our loftiest conceptions of God; yet not God truly, not God to Him who made and whose laws sustain all things. In the moral universe, he may have compeers or superiors; but to us he alone is God's immediate agent, and our Mediator through whom to approach, in prayerful thought, the Omnipotent Jehovah. The guardian angel of this bright and beautiful world, we see him presiding over man's destinies; now striving, by becoming a sojourner with man, to exalt his moral nature; leaving precepts and an example which shall render each faithful follower so pure, so beautiful, that when death presents his gleanings to Christ the judge, he may bear them to some happy home among his Father's many mansions.

E. B. H—t.

## ART. III. — LEAGUE OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.\*

THE movement to which we now call the attention of our readers is, perhaps, unknown to many of them, and probably comparatively few have given it serious attention. It does not come within the pale of party politics, and the newspapers of the day are silent about it ; it enters not the field of theological controversy, and the pulpit and the religious press announce it not ; but the Pledge on which the League is founded has been signed by about thirty thousand persons in the British islands and America, and has thus acquired an importance not to be overlooked. Viewing its past rate of progress, therefore, we only anticipate a public interest in it, which must ere long be felt. It claims, also, to be considered a religious movement, whose principles are founded on the Gospel, and hence is entitled to notice in our pages.

Presuming our readers have but little information on this subject, we think it not amiss to give a brief statement of the origin and operations of this philanthropic combination. The name of Elihu Burritt, or, as he has been called, the Learned Blacksmith, is famous. He acquired celebrity by the acquisition of over thirty languages while working at the anvil, and in this character of a linguist he is yet chiefly known to the political and literary public. But his future eminence will rest on a higher aspiration, for which he has, in a great measure, deserted the dictionary and the grammar. A lecture delivered by him in Boston, in June, 1843, exposing the folly of preparation for war, attracted the attention of the friends of peace in that city, who immediately engaged him in their cause, to which he has since been principally devoted. He became a member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society ; edited the " Advocate of Peace " for 1846 ; issued from Worcester, his place of residence, a multitude of small papers, extensively republished, under the titles of " Olive Leaves " and " Bonds of Brotherhood " ; and is still the chief editor of the " Christian Citizen," published at Worcester, the only weekly paper devoted principally to the cause of peace.

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\* *First Quarterly Report of the Corresponding Secretary of the British Branch of the League of Universal Brotherhood.* Read by ELIHU BURRITT at the Meeting of League Delegates at the White Hart, Bishopsgate-Street-Without, London, October 13th, 1847. *Christian Citizen, Worcester, Mass., 1847, Nos. 49 - 52.*

In the summer of 1846 he departed for England ; and there, in concurrence with those friends who sympathized with him, formed the " League of Universal Brotherhood," of which he was appointed Secretary ; and we now give from the Report his own account of its commencement, and the introduction of the Pledge. Our first extract shows the conception of the plan.

" The plan of a League of Universal Brotherhood, then, was suggested by the inception and issue of the Friendly International Addresses interchanged between the people of England and the people of the United States during the Oregon controversy. Your Secretary, *pro tem.*, who had the happiness to procure a wide publicity for these Addresses in the United States, embarked for England on the 16th of June, 1846, in the very packet which brought to this country the news of the amicable settlement of the question referred to. As an humble member of an active Peace band in America, it was the chief object of his errand to propose to the friends of Peace on this side of the Atlantic an expansion, or a new application, of the principle involved in the Friendly International Addresses ; or, in other words, to associate *permanently* the friends of humanity in both hemispheres, for the prevention of all dangerous international controversies ; to propose an international organization upon one integral platform, which should not only embrace the whole basis of the Peace Society, but that of the Antislavery Society, and of every other association for the elevation of man and the equalization of human happiness."

A little farther on we have the origin of the Pledge.

" On the evening of the 29th of July, the pledge received its first signatures in Pershore, a small town in Worcestershire. Here, on his way to London, whither he was travelling on foot, your Secretary accidentally met a company of twenty individuals in a private room, to whom he presented the pledge in its original and manuscript form. After a discussion of its principles, which lasted from six o'clock until nearly midnight, in which every person present took a part, seventeen of the number present attached their names to the covenant of brotherhood, with a full and serious sense of the responsibility of the transaction, which was manifested in a season of religious devotion, with which the company separated."

Still farther on we find its confirmation by the sanction of some names which, we trust, are familiar to our readers.

" On the evening of the 6th of August, at a meeting of the

Delegates to the World's Temperance Convention, held in the Freemason's Hall, London, Joseph Sturge introduced the proposition of a League of Universal Brotherhood, and read the Pledge. Your Secretary followed him with an exposition of the principles and objects of the Association, and about sixty gentlemen, from different parts of the kingdom, together with several of the Delegates from America, enrolled their names as members on that occasion. Among these were Dr. Campbell, editor of the *Christian Witness*; James Silk Buckingham and John Bell, of London; Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham; Lawrence Heyworth, Liverpool; Samuel Bowley, Gloucester; Robert Charlton and Joseph Eaton, of Bristol; Robert W. Fox, Exeter; Jonathan Priestman, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and others of like standing in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland."

The Report then proceeds to detail at length the subsequent journeys, meetings, lectures, etc., by which the Pledge was more extensively recommended, and numerous signatures obtained to it, and the formation of local League Societies, which were afterwards united in concert with a central one. The account of the formation of this central organization is thus stated in the Report.

"In the 'Bond of Brotherhood' for July, a Conference of Delegates from the different League Societies was invited to be held on the 13th of that month, for the purpose of considering the plan and propriety of organizing the British Branch of the League. In accordance with this invitation, about forty persons, mostly representing different local Branches, assembled in the Hall of the White Hart, Bishopsgate-Without, on the evening of the above-mentioned day.

"Joseph Sturge, Esq., was called to the chair, and opened the proceedings of the meeting with a short speech, commending the objects for which it was called. Elihu Burritt read a report, embracing an exposition of the principles, spirit, and objects of the Association, and facts relating to its progress in England and America. In conclusion, he submitted the following suggestions:—

"1. That, as the different representatives of the local Leagues in Great Britain, we now assume a national organization, by the election of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Standing Committee of twelve, all constituting an Executive Board for the general supervision of the British League.

"2. That the Quarterly Meetings of Secretaries and Delegates of all the local Leagues in Great Britain be held in London, for the purpose of hearing reports, and considering plans for future operations, both at home and abroad.



"3. That each Quarterly Report, together with extracts from communications from different countries, relating to the movement, be published in a periodical not exceeding sixteen pages, royal 8vo, entitled 'The League of Universal Brotherhood'; and which shall be furnished to the Secretary and any other members of any local League in the British dominions, and in America, or wherever the English language is spoken, at a price not exceeding 3d. per number or one English shilling *per annum*.

"4. That Great Britain be divided into twelve districts, each assigned to a member of the Standing Committee residing therein, who shall provide for the holding of a public League meeting once a year in said district, which delegates from all the League Branches therein shall be invited to attend. That these district meetings shall be held in rotation, so that, while they are annual to the several districts, they shall be monthly to the nation.

"After a rather lengthened discussion, these resolutions were passed by the Convention."

Near the close of the Report, an account is given of operations for the extension of the League to the continent of Europe, in many places of which it has been favorably received.

In the mean time, the Pledge had been sent by the indefatigable Secretary to the United States, and has here received a great number of signatures. A convention of the signers, and all persons friendly to the object, was held in Boston on the 26th and 27th of May, 1847, which organized a general American Branch of the League, and appointed officers in like manner to that of the English.

The only, but an indispensable, condition of membership to this League is signature to the Pledge, which, of course, embodies in a condensed form all the essential principles of this great association, and is in these words: —

"PLEDGE. — Believing all war to be inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and destructive of the best interests of mankind, I do hereby pledge myself never to enlist or enter any army or navy, or to yield any *voluntary* support or sanction to the preparation for or prosecution of any war, by whomsoever or for whatsoever proposed, declared, or waged. And I do hereby associate myself with all persons, of whatever country, condition, or color, who have signed, or shall hereafter sign, this pledge, in a 'LEAGUE OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD,' whose object shall be to employ all legitimate and moral means for the abolition of all war, and all the spirit and all the manifestations of war, through-

out the world ; for the abolition of all restrictions upon international correspondence and friendly intercourse, and of whatever else tends to make enemies of nations, or prevent their fusion into one peaceful brotherhood ; for the abolition of all institutions and customs which do not recognize and respect the image of God and a human brother in every man, of whatever clime, color, or condition of humanity."

This instrument, it will be seen, has two distinguishable parts. First, the "pledge" proper, designed to diminish and ultimately abolish war by the simple process of refusing to aid or support it, — in obedience to a sentiment now very prevalent in England ; and the pledge form is avowedly taken from the Temperance "Pledge," and, like that, is designed to fortify the resolution of the signers. In the second part, it quits the language of a pledge, and becomes only a declarative agreement of association with others in a "League of Universal Brotherhood," for the abolition of the restrictions, etc., which it designates ; and the idea of this part was probably taken from the great Anti-Corn-Law League, through which the popular voice had accomplished such a triumphant revolution in Great Britain. It contemplates a similar success by a similar association.

No doubt can be entertained of the efficacy, in putting an end to war, of a general refusal, by the people of civilized nations, to engage in military operations. War could not be carried on without the voluntary instrumentality of the soldier, and were the people of the nations at large resolutely disposed to such a refusal, the arm of despotism would be paralyzed, and we should have the easiest, most direct, and safest method of accomplishing the desired pacification of the world. But, unhappily, in despotic countries, the people dare not venture on such an opposition, and in those having freer constitutions, the mass of the people, proudly identifying themselves with the imagined glory of their country, and deluded by the exciting language of their statesmen and orators, are often rather the instigators than the opposers of war. These martial dispositions are undergoing a very perceptible change. The formidable number of signatures attached to this Pledge is no small evidence of a great advance of pacific sentiment in the public mind ; though it is by no means a proof that this sentiment is deeply laid or well defined ; for the language of the Pledge is captivating from the high tone of its philanthropy, and its accordance with the

precepts of Christ, and hence is thoughtlessly acceded to by religious and benevolent minds, who may yet not fully comprehend the extent of its obligations, or foresee the sacrifices which may be required to maintain their resolution.

We cannot, in the space at our command, make all the comments we should desire on that part of this instrument which announces a junction in the League ; for it embraces a variety of objects, which, though linked by fundamental analogy, are yet distinct in their nature, and are to be judged by different considerations. But the great principle of human brotherhood, which underlies the whole, must, we think, impress every Christian heart with its sublime sentiment of holiness and beauty. However undiscerned in the past, it is the true teaching of expansive Christianity to the awakened perceptions of the present age. It results directly from the doctrine of the paternity of God ; for if he is truly the Father of the human race, they are as truly an unbounded brotherhood ; and if the expression " Our Father " was only used by our Lord to signify a relation held by those who have imbibed his spirit, then those who profess to cherish this spirit are connected by a closer tie of fraternal affection. Carrying this view of human brotherhood along with its promulgation, its evident tendency is to soften all those asperities of temper which check a kind beneficence, and to subdue all those selfish and malignant impulses which lead to violence and war. A nation impressed with the idea of the brotherhood of man would be a realm of benevolence, instead of conflicting interests, in which every moral corruption and oppression would disappear ; and it would be ready to make such sacrifices for peace as would insure its endless continuance.

It is much to be regretted that this delightful and sublime conception has not been presented to the world in a shape suited to its character. The imposition of an unvarying form of pledge as a condition of membership of the League is, in the outset, a violation of an essential principle exhibited by it. According to its own declaration, the Pledge is not to form a society of such persons only as are willing to bind themselves by it, — like the creed of an exclusive church, — but it is to embrace all mankind in its sympathies, for its " brotherhood " is declared to be " universal." To refuse, therefore, to persons who cannot sign this particular form, the character of members of the League, is to deny their brother-

hood ; and this precludes its universality, unless every person in the world should sign it, which is not to be expected. Even those persons who are most fully in sympathy with the fundamental principles and objects of the League, and of course in spirit already united in fraternity with it, are virtually disowned by its conductors, if any conscientious scruple against either of the various provisions of the Pledge prevents them from signing it, and are thus excluded from any authorized coöperation in this great philanthropic enterprise.

By a strange disregard of the varying opinions and feelings of human minds, it seems to have been supposed that no one who was in cordial sympathy with the objects of the Pledge could consistently refuse to avow it by his signature ; but various cogent objections are made to this instrument in its present form, by some of the most sincere admirers of its great principle of pacific brotherhood. Some object to the "Pledge" as *a pledge*, considering it identical in character with an oath, and so forbidden by Christ, or thinking that frail human beings have no right to give a solemn obligation in regard to their future moral conduct. Others dissent from the clause respecting international restrictions, considering the question one of mere political economy, with their views of which the Pledge does not accord. Some, again, revolt at the undistinguishing level apparently assigned to all classes of men, as subversive of social order ; and many, of the most cautious benevolence, are alarmed at a proposal to abolish institutions and customs indistinctly designated and variously understood, which may commit them to hostility against those they most cherish or revere. A required pledge, therefore, containing so many disputable obligations, must exclude many more of the friends of human brotherhood than it can ever unite, among whom will be some of the most ardent advocates of that sacred relation.

The pledge form was avowedly adopted in imitation of the Temperance Pledge, which had been found so effectual in advancing a needed and arduous reform. It was supposed that the potency of a pledge in the one case would be equally manifest in the other. But the originators of the Pledge of Brotherhood overlooked the consideration, that the motive power of achievement in the Pledge of Temperance is inapplicable to the case of Brotherhood. The Temperance Pledge operated to support and strengthen a faltering resolution at the moment of temptation. Its purpose was to bring



to the aid of prudential and moral considerations, in that crisis of conflict, the coercive terror of a broken vow ; to repel the pressure of appetite and the appeal of inclination by the pride of loyalty to a voluntary bond. There is a trial of self-denial in which the whole power of the propensity stands in opposition to the contract. But in the case of abstinence from war and military service the restrictive resolution is in perfect coincidence with the disposition of the mind ; for such service is an object of dread, and not of desire ; and a man must have come to an abhorrence of war and all preparations for it, before he will consent to give his pledge against it ; and that abhorrence affords him all the resolution of abstinence he requires, to which a pledge cannot add a particle of power, for he has no opposing propensity to overcome.

We have stated these objections to the requisition of this Pledge of Brotherhood, not because we would in the least obstruct the advance of its principles ; but, on the contrary, because we fear that its present form, with the inherent objections to it, will of itself prove a great obstacle to the progress of those principles. We confess our deep regret, that so philanthropic an object should be confined by shackles so incongruous with its expansive nature. We see not why the most harmonious concert of action, and even the most rigid organization, could not be maintained without a written contract, in an association so benevolent, so endearing, so all-embracing as this. But if the idea of universality be abandoned, and some written recognition be necessary to designate distinctively the " Brethren," any form, however varied, to accommodate differing scruples, might be accepted, if it embodied the fundamental principles of the League. We think we perceive that, without some such liberal change, the progress of the League, however promising now, will soon decline, and come to its ultimate and insufficient limit ; and that the sympathies of the benevolent who cannot accept it will be locked up in their former apathy, or will compel them to adopt a distinct and rival mode of action. But we are not without hope that such considerations as we have offered may have their due weight with the members of the League, and that no injudicious pertinacity will prevent their principles from securing free and rapid course through the civilized world. An enlightened liberality in the removal of unjust and injurious exclusiveness is reasonably to be expected

from the gifted author of this Pledge, and his noble-spirited coadjutors.

Should this just and reasonable measure be adopted, the institution of the League appears to us to have a claim on the heart of every lover of peace and humanity. We think that favor towards it, and even aid in its promotion, cannot be denied by any loyal follower of Christ, who considers it incumbent on him to contribute to the advancement of the pure principles of his religion, and who perceives in those principles the essential elements of love and beneficence towards mankind. Admitting human brotherhood to be an express doctrine of the Gospel, and recognizing the consequent duty of treating fellow-men as brethren, every variety of opinion respecting the extent or nature of this brotherhood may be merged in its general principle, and a unity of action be attained, which cannot be expected from any more definite or restricted interpretation.

If, however, this restrictive policy shall be maintained by the government of the League, that institution will yet have its use, and a highly important one, and it is to this we would especially call the attention of our Christian friends. It re-suscitates an explicit and essential doctrine of the Gospel from the torpor in which it has lain through ages of mercenary, martial, and tyrannical corruptions, and exhibits it anew to the admiration and reception of a more philanthropic age ; and thus it calls on every faithful follower of Christ, not only to welcome its benign results with joy, but to give his ardent and steady efforts to promote them. Christians who perceive the truth and loveliness of the principle of human brotherhood are, by this manifestation of it, invited to join in a concert of action, such as all agree that it demands, undisturbed by conflicting explanations or revolting restrictions.

We are not sanguine, however, that the removal of the Pledge alone, or a new Association of Brotherhood without it, would attract an immediate and large accession of coöperators in the object. We are aware that there is much hesitation in the minds of the most sincere philanthropists in regard to founding their benevolence, or their opposition to war, on the vague sentiment of "human brotherhood," until the purport of that phrase is more precisely understood. The word "universal," adopted by the League, still further perplexes the subject, for, until it is known in what sense "brotherhood" is to be taken, it cannot be seen whether it

is or can be universal ; and the members, and even leaders, of the League differ in their interpretation of the expression. It seems necessary, therefore, to set this matter in a clearer light.

The term "universal" was placed in the Pledge to denote the brotherhood of all the human race, in virtue of a common nature, and as derived from a common origin ; and by a cursory glance at the declaration of St. Paul, that "God hath made of one blood all nations," he is supposed to authorize this view, although more careful attention to the context may show that he made it for a different purpose ; and it is not certain, as we conceive, that our Lord intended the expressions, "Our Father," and "All ye are brethren," to have reference to any but those who believed in or sympathized with him. We have seen that even the originators of the League, who have adopted the word "universal," have yet virtually disowned this universality, in the exclusive requisition of the Pledge ; and we suppose that many of the most benevolent Christians are not yet prepared to acknowledge a fraternal relation to all men of all characters ; especially to those whose deep corruptions and vices are disgracing human nature, and spreading misery and depravity on the earth. The religious philosophy which claims for the worst of men a spark of the Divine nature is but partially received, and, if insisted on, will exclude from participation in the enterprise some of the best friends of humanity, whose coöperation is most desirable.

An attentive examination of the New Testament in reference to this question will show that the expressions denoting the paternity of God and the fraternity of men are most generally used in a restricted sense, either as applied to particular generations, or, more commonly, to the believers in Christ only. There is only one passage in which God is directly said to be the Father of all men (Ephesians iv. 6). Present universality of human brotherhood is a doctrine which cannot be safely urged on the authority of the Christian Scriptures ; nor on the ground of the common animal nature of mankind, which offers too low a basis for so elevated a conception ; and if we consider all men as children of God in their spiritual nature, as he is said to be "the Father of spirits," we are repelled from this view by the denunciation bestowed by Christ on those he called "children of the Devil," and the consideration of the deep malignity of spirit often manifested by the destroyers and corrupters of our race. Yet

we resign this interpretation with great reluctance, for it is congenial with the most expansive charity of the human heart, and affords the strongest impulse to universal beneficence. We must fall back on a brotherhood which, though yet limited in extent, rests, like that of the earliest Christian Church, on a common inspiration from the Father of lights, a fraternal sympathy in a common regeneration. Yet we rejoice in that faith which allies us to the Divine nature ; we would look forward with the eye of hope to the time when "at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow" in fraternal reverence ; and we would earnestly diffuse that revelation of love which shall hereafter unite men and angels in a brotherhood that shall be indeed universal.

And what Christian heart will not leap to be associated in a brotherhood like this ? Let not the Christian say that he is already affiliated to God by inward piety, and united to all his true children by religious sympathy, and that no external manifestation is needed to indicate such relations. Open concert is requisite, both for the encouragement and the increase of this assimilation. It is not enough that a despotic hierarchy has gathered multitudes under a system of mysterious ceremony. It is not enough that separate churches cherish exclusive organizations, which can never distinguish the cordial from the heartless professor. It is not enough that institutions and societies, of the religious and the worldly combined, exist for the removal of specific evils ; these have, indeed, dimly illuminated the misty atmosphere of the past, but the dawn of a brighter day is now visibly at hand. "Let there be light !" is the renewed command of God, and his spirit again moves on the deep waters of human corruption. It points to a combination of Christian philanthropists, purer, freer, more extensive, and more energetic than the deluded and turbulent world has ever seen.

The true principle on which such an association should be based is that of love. "By this," says our Lord, "shall all know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another" ; and the surest test of this Christian love is the renunciation of the spirit and of every form of war, private or national. "Blessed are the peacemakers," says Jesus, "for they shall be called the children of God." If children of God, they are brethren of each other by the fraternal bond of love. This is the true foundation on which the vast edifice of human brotherhood is to be erected ; and just so



deeply as this delightful principle is cherished, will "the peace of God which passeth all understanding" dwell in every heart; and just so far as it is extended through the world, will every hostile action cease, till swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and nations shall not learn war any more.

J. P. B.

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ART. IV. — JONATHAN EDWARDS.\*

WE took occasion recently in the pages of this journal to treat of the father of Methodism, and of the revolution wrought by him in the religion of England. We now turn homeward, to speak of a contemporary of Wesley, of equal influence in his own sphere, and of far higher rank in the kingdom of ideas. It was, as we have seen, in the month of roses, 1703, that the rectory of Epworth heard a new voice, and John Wesley first saw the light. That same year, and, as more fitting, in the month of the sere and yellow leaf, the more grave and pensive October, the Puritan parsonage of East Windsor, Connecticut, that already — frequent blessing of the clerical home — heard the prattle of four little girls, rejoiced for the first time in a son. This son became the most noted theologian of his country. The metaphysician of Calvinism, he has been as much the father of a method of thought, as the Arminian disciplinarian has been of a method of action.

To understand the career of the great Calvinist and his associates and antagonists, we must glance at the condition of New England at the opening of the last century. The state of religion here then resembled much its state in the mother country when Wesley came upon the stage. The fire of the old contest between Puritan and Churchman had been dying out. By the Revolution of 1688 new principles of toleration were incorporated into the British policy, which showed themselves in the old country by softening the former animosity between the Dissenters and the Establishment, and which

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\* 1. *The Works of JONATHAN EDWARDS, A. M. With an Essay on his Genius and Writings*, by HENRY ROGERS; and a *Memoir*, by SERENO E. DWIGHT. London. 1839. 2 vols. pp. cclxxvi., 691, 969.

2. *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England. A Treatise in Five Parts. With a Preface.* By CHARLES CHAUNCY, D. D., Pastor of the First Church of Christ in Boston. Boston. 1743. pp. 424.

changed the face of things here, by taking from the Puritan Church its control over the State, and bringing forward a somewhat liberal party in the ranks of Congregationalism. The weight of the liberal party was proved by the foundation of Brattle Street church, in Boston, in 1698, and, nine years afterward, by the election of one of its founders, John Leverett, to the presidency of Harvard College, in spite of the violent opposition of the Mathers. In this movement, a spirit came to light which had long covertly existed, and which without doubt had some representatives in the cabins of the *Mayflower* and *Arbella*. Thus, at the very beginning of the last century, Harvard College showed something of the liberal tendency that has since stamped its history ; and the rise of Yale College at that time, under the auspices of the more rigid class, and with some feeling of opposition to Harvard, gave intimation of those conflicts of opinion that have agitated New England to the present day. We do not say that there was any thing of the doctrinal antagonism that has since been so conspicuous. The Liberalism of that day was rather a spirit than a doctrine, — a spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical despotism, and of regard for the right of private judgment and congregational independence.

It was obviously an important crisis in affairs, — a season of decay as well as renovation. Much indifference prevailed among Christian people. Men were not very willing to accept theology, as before, upon the basis of Puritan authority. The claims of religion must be examined, its doctrines proved, and, while the leading divines of Europe were striving to defend Christianity from assault, and legitimate its claims by reason and scholarship, the mind of New England in a measure felt the same want, and demanded strong thinkers to meet the craving for more light. When thus called for, men always come. Strong thinkers appeared. Verily, there were giants in those days.

Harvard and Yale sent each its strong man, each man to be captain of a host.

In the year 1720, the order of performance at the New Haven Commencement bore upon its list of graduates the name of Jonathan Edwards. Few, if any, of the goodly company at that ancient Commencement, as they listened to the oration of that youth of seventeen, had any very clear intimation of his destiny. The fathers and mothers, the youths and maidens, looked upon him, doubtless, with inter-

est, as the first scholar in his class ; the elders of the church hoped well of him, as they noted his serious spirit, and remembered the stanch faith of his father, the venerable minister of East Windsor. His classmates might have thought him a little stiff and reserved, even for those days, but could not help respecting the youth who had distanced them all in scholarship, and who at fourteen had read Locke with more pleasure than "the miser finds in handfuls of silver and gold from some newly discovered treasure."

One year afterwards, the town of Boston and its vicinity sent forth its wisdom and beauty and strength to the village of Cambridge, and among the class of thirty-seven members at that Commencement, none was regarded with more honor than Charles Chauncy, a youth not yet seventeen, who bore a distinguished part in the services of the day.

These youths became the religious leaders of their time. Edwards and Chauncy are the representative men of New England theology in the eighteenth century. Of them we are to treat, — of Edwards principally, and Chauncy incidentally. They represent tendencies that have always existed in Christendom. In their own time, and under the New England garb, they illustrate diversities of creed and temper, that have ever shown themselves in the world, from the days of Tertullian and Origen, Augustine and Pelagius, to those of Calvin and Arminius, Chalmers and Channing.

Did our limits permit, we might find instruction in portraying the chief scenes in Edwards's course of preparation for this great work. We might dwell upon his infancy and boyhood in the parsonage of East Windsor, — trace his career through College, and describe the years during which he was fitting himself for the ministry, which were passed partly in theological studies and partly in the duties of a tutorship at New Haven. But, having to deal with a man who lived and ruled in the region of ideas, we may well spare sketches of scenes and events, and speak of the chief elements which during his preparatory period combined to make him what he became.

The first element which determined his destiny undoubtedly was the creed in which he was educated, especially the characteristic feature of that creed, — the sovereignty of God, and his acknowledged right, purely of his own will and without respect to human desert, to elect to heaven or doom to hell the souls of men. This doctrine he heard preached

by his father, even from his boyhood. As a boy he thought it a horrible belief, and struggled against it earnestly, as he himself declares. But afterwards he found himself convinced of its truth, and, as he says, without ever being able to give any satisfactory account of the means or manner of the conviction.

The second element consisted in his strong religious sensibility, which showed itself from early childhood, alike in the fervor and frequency of private prayer, and in the little meetings which he with a few other boys conducted, in a rude booth built by them in a retired spot, which to this day is pointed out as hallowed ground. Thus his expanding heart opened to the religious influences around him, and he stands, with Pascal and Leighton, amongst those who have accepted the dogma of elective sovereignty without that desperate struggle with early lusts that led Augustine, Luther, and Bunyan to disparage human will.

The third element which we notice was his singular, perhaps unsurpassed, power of abstraction, his passion for meditating upon the causes of things, and his faculty of tracing causes to consequences by deductive processes of adamantine strength. We shall speak of this tendency more at large when we come to treat of his works.

These elements had all exhibited themselves as early, at least, as his nineteenth year. When at this age he went to preach at New York, and delighted to roam along the beautiful banks of the Hudson, as he assures us he often did, for contemplation on Divine things, and for secret converse with God, he undoubtedly employed in the "sweet hours" there all the resources of his nature, education, and experience. He had learned to see the sovereign God in all things; in his views of nature and religion, he had manifested the sensibility of the poet, as well as the fervor of the devotee. His searching mind had already investigated the foundations of faith and knowledge, and struggled at once for a science of matter and spirit, creation and the Creator. He says that for some time previously his mind had been almost perpetually in the contemplation of Divine things. "I spent most of my time in thinking of Divine things from year to year, often walking alone in the woods and solitary places for meditation, soliloquy, and prayer, and converse with God; and it was always my manner to sing forth my contemplation. I was almost constantly in ejaculatory prayer, wherever I was."



Again, speaking of his stay at New York, he says, that holiness "made the soul like a field or garden of God, with all manner of pleasant flowers ; enjoying a sweet calm, and the gently vivifying beams of the sun. The soul of a true Christian, as I then wrote my meditations, appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year ; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the beams of the sun's glory, rejoicing, as it were, in a calm rapture ; diffusing around a sweet fragrancy ; standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their beams to the sun."

What is to become of this enraptured wanderer on the banks of the Hudson, so absorbed in visions of God and contemplations of creation ? Is he to be poet, dreamer, theorist, recluse, — what ? In this world of stern reality is there any work for him to do, or is he to go through life by himself, more wondered at than admired, and giving friends and observers cause for querying whether he had not been sent to the wrong planet, or stumbled upon the wrong age ? The fact must be our reply.

Go to the beautiful town of Northampton, Massachusetts, and the question is at once solved. Let the date be any year between 1727 and 1750. We select the winter of 1735. The Connecticut is bridged over with ice ; Holyoke and its twin mount are covered with snow. The Sabbath bell rings out solemnly, yet cheerfully, upon the clear air of the winter morning. The village church, cold, and no marvel of architectural proportion, soon becomes the centre of concourse. In Puritan decorum, in sleighs, on horseback, on foot, the villagers wend their way through the snow, and take their seats in the square, high-backed pews. The minister, a man of thirty-two, attended by a lady seven years younger than himself, in whose face rare beauty is blended with a singularly spiritual expression, walks up the aisle, and, after opening for his companion the door of the pastor's pew, ascends the pulpit. After prayer and hymn, he stands up to preach. His appearance does not at first promise much. He is tall and thin, without any grace of manner, attraction of person, compass or music of voice. He holds his manuscript in his hand, and reads it through without a single gesture or movement of the head. But mark the power which he exercises as he goes on. There is no startling change in his address, but, as thought after thought is presented with such iron

strength and such piercing point, every breath is hushed ; tears and every mark of contrition pervade the assembly. The text is from Romans iii. 19 : — “ That every mouth may be stopped.” The subject is “ The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners.” The sermon is terrific. After its two points of introduction, and five of doctrine, comes the application, with its more than twenty points, down upon the devoted heads of the hearers, like forked lightnings from a single cloud. All classes feel its force. The hard man of business begins to think of his ways, to loathe his own worldliness, and apprehend with horror his destiny. The gayest daughter in the parish, flaunting in all the allowable pride of that austere time, repents of her vanity, sees little to admire in her attire, and yearns for the pearl that is of too great price to be bought. A great awakening follows, and the year 1735 makes a date in the theological calendar of New England.

Edwards, for he is the preacher, had then been at Northampton eight years, having been settled there the year of Chauncy’s settlement in Boston, 1727. The fame of his labors went out into all the churches of the land, and the fire kindled by him reached many neighbouring places, and similar scenes appeared. Northampton soon became a classic spot, — a very Mecca or Jerusalem to the pilgrims of Puritanism. Still, its fame was not yet complete.

In the autumn of 1740, the noted Whitefield, the early friend and helper of Wesley, first came to New England. Landing at Newport, he visited Boston, and preached in the principal churches of the town. Soon after, in the month of October, he started for the scene of the revival of 1735. When he and Edwards went into that Puritan pulpit together, it required no great depth of perception to recognize a singular contrast in the two men. They were as different in mind and manner as in looks. The thought-worn theologian, and the brilliant, imposing declaimer, — the one dealing in chains of argument that no logician could break asunder, the other abounding in pathetic exhortations, high-wrought figures, melting cadences, which no logician could resist, and which, whilst they had made a Garrick marvel, moved Edwards to weep. No wonder that he wept, and the whole congregation were refreshed by Whitefield’s visit. It must have been a great relief to them to listen to his eloquent appeals to the heart, after having their minds so constantly on

the stretch in attempting to follow the profound deductions of their own minister, penetrating the deeps of the soul and the Godhead from Sabbath to Sabbath. Edwards, however, much as he felt the pathos of Whitefield's preaching, saw his dangers, and advised him to beware of trusting so much to mere emotion, and of presuming to judge so uphesitatingly of the piety of other persons, — advice which Whitefield took more in word than deed, else he might have shunned the rock on which he split, escaped the name of an uncharitable censor, and the suspicion of confounding the pulpit with the stage. After this friendly lecture, he never seems to have liked Edwards very well; at least, was never very studious of his company.

Rekindled by Whitefield's visits, the awakening in New England, which had for some years subsided, reappeared, and 1740 makes the date of centennial commemoration among our Orthodox Congregationalists, as it does also among the followers of Wesley. Arminianism in England and Calvinism here had their Pentecost at the same time. We are ready to believe that not a little of the true fire came down from heaven in both cases.

But Edwards, however superior to Wesley as a metaphysician, was far inferior to him as a pastoral guide, and knew not, like the great Methodist, how to tend the fire already kindled. As his opinions were consolidated into a system, he wielded them with increased force, and seemed to speak to men as an ambassador from the other world. His famous Sermon on "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" is a good specimen of his peculiar power. No one who reads it can wonder at its singular effect. He delivered it at Enfield, Conn., in 1741, at a time when the congregation there were expecting to hear a foreign preacher. They were disappointed in this expectation, and not at all propitiated by seeing the unpromising substitute for the stranger, as he entered the pulpit and began the service in his usual monotonous way. But soon the feeling changed, and the eyes that had been lowered in displeasure or shut in indifference began to gaze upon the preacher with intense interest. Ere long, some of the audience rose to their feet, and in the end the whole congregation stood up, as if drawn toward the orator by some terrible fascination. The house of worship became a scene of fearful commotion, — such being the distress and weeping, that he was obliged to desire silence, that

he might be heard. The sermon is enough to make a man of our milder creed shudder. No wonder that it so affected that audience of so austere doctrine. After a close and pointed statement of doctrine in ten points, he urges its application in a manner of which this is a fair specimen : —

“ There is nothing between you and hell but the air ; it is only the power and mere pleasure of God that holds you up. Your wickedness makes you heavy as lead, and to tend downwards with great weight and pressure towards hell ; and if God should let you go, you would immediately sink and descend into the bottomless gulf ; and your healthy constitution, and your own care and prudence and best contrivance, and all your righteousness, would have no more influence to uphold you and keep you out of hell, than a spider’s web would have to stop a falling rock. . . . . The bow of God’s wrath is bent, and the arrow made ready on the string, and justice bends the arrow at your heart, and strains the bow, and it is nothing but the mere pleasure of God, and that of an angry God, without any promise or obligation at all, that keeps the arrow one moment from being drunk with your blood. . . . . The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked ; his wrath towards you burns like fire ; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire ; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight ; you are ten thousand times more abominable in his eyes than the most hateful, venomous serpent is in ours.” — *Works*, Vol. II., pp. 7 *et seq.*

On another occasion, as he was preaching in the pulpit of a brother minister, this brother is said to have forgotten himself so far, as to pull the preacher by the coat, and to stop the terrific sermon by the question, — “ Mr. Edwards, Mr. Edwards ! Is not God a merciful being ? is he not merciful ? ”

To keep the state of feeling at the pitch to which such a style of preaching carried it was hardly in man’s power, nor could it be safely moderated into its permanent level without the most judicious superintendence. Here Edwards failed. He had, indeed, too deep a mind to regard nervous excitement or vehement emotion as proof of religion. His chief danger came from want of sympathy with the common feelings of men, and knowledge of the means of permanent influence over them. In 1744, he sorely offended the young people of his parish, and, through them, many of their par-



ents, by well-meant but unwise attempts to suppress some objectionable practices ; and five years afterwards he lost the good graces of most of the parish by that measure, so noted and so consistent, the proposition to reëstablish the old Puritan rule, for a long time abandoned under the ministry of Stoddard, of requiring from each candidate for the communion, not merely a profession of faith and evidence of good personal character, but also such testimonials of religious experience as should satisfy the committee of the church that conversion had taken place, and evidence been given of a regenerate heart. He would thus, of course, regard the Lord's Supper, not, as it has been regarded by the great mass of Christians, as a means of grace, so much as a seal of salvation. Trouble was the consequence, and separation the final result. Customs that are connected with hallowed associations, and founded in feelings so justifiable as those which moved Stoddard to enlarge the door of communion, could not easily be set aside by argument, however close and weighty. We are not to suppose that the chief obstacle was by any means on the side of the worldly, who sought the Lord's table without due seriousness. There is a sentiment of delicacy and dignity in a large number of truly spiritually-minded persons that leads them to shrink from exposing their secret thoughts, much more from submitting their spiritual experience to the judgment of a church committee.

Now is the time for Edwards to prove his true character. In great affliction, feeble health, and stinted fortune, he chose to state an unpopular doctrine, but one connected with his whole system. Is he willing to abide the consequences ? He is willing. He left his cherished home in the loveliest town of New England, and accepted a call to perform missionary duty among the Indians of the vicinity. What a position was his at Stockbridge for the strongest reasoner, if not the deepest thinker, in the land ! A theologian great as Calvin, a logician not inferior to Spinoza, thus become the minister to savages, whose comprehension of sacred truth hardly equalled that of children ! He turned trial into triumph. His genius towered up as never before among the mountains of Berkshire. In this his comparative seclusion, he devoted himself to study and meditation. Works such as those on "The Freedom of the Will," "The End of Creation," "The Nature of Virtue," "Original Sin," — works that have given him his name as the third of a trio of

which Augustine and Calvin form the first and second, — were there composed, — there, amid that grand scenery, where, in a spirit alike pure, but with a creed so different, for the last time Channing lifted up his voice for human freedom.

Seven years thus spent brought him to a new era in his life. Called to the presidency of the College at Princeton, he was regarded as on the eve of new achievements in a more auspicious career. But no. That mighty intellect, which had long encroached upon the feeble body, was to encroach upon it no more. A few weeks after his entrance upon his academic duties, he died. After he had been given up as senseless and speechless, he surprised his mourning attendants by saying distinctly, — “Trust in God, and ye need not fear,” — thus true in death to that sentiment which had marked his whole life. A few months afterwards his wife followed him, and was interred by his side. Fit woman was this Sarah Pierrepont to be his companion in life and death. Her piety was as lofty as his, and far more beautiful, — the vine clinging, indeed, confidently to the rock, yet so much more lovely, and sometimes stretching its branches and rich clusters above the highest crag. She blended the most pains-taking prudence with the most devoted and even rapturous piety. Her heart was sometimes so wrought upon by contemplation of Divine grace, that her very frame felt the movement, and, to use a comparison which we have met in some old author, in Leighton, we believe, her whole being seemed drawn tremulously towards the Saviour, as the magnet points with trembling yearning towards the polar star. Not Theresa nor Madame Guyon, in the rapture of their mystical marriage with Christ, ever flamed with a more sacred or absorbing passion. She had confessed to her husband that a “glow of Divine love seemed to come down from the heart of Christ in heaven into her heart like a stream or pencil of sweet light.” In death they were not divided. As we think of them, it seems as if Numidia had sent hither the soul of her august bishop, and Spain the spirit of her sainted devotee, his spiritual child, though the interval was a thousand years ; and Augustine and Theresa had reappeared, not, indeed, under a tropical sun, nor in monastic seclusion or ascetic enthusiasm, but in the stern clime of our North, and with the subdued temperament and under the hallowed union of a true New England home.

When Edwards died, his fame was by no means at its height. The theological world was in commotion, and it was not clear what estimate would be set upon his principles and writings. Chauncy, Mayhew, and a host of able men, virtually, if not at first nominally, Arminians, were in the field. He little knew what strong intellects, such as Bellamy and Hopkins, had been raised up under his own instruction, nor could he have anticipated that his own son and namesake, then a lad of thirteen, would be his equal in logical force, and his superior in range of learning. Nor had he the second-sight to see that among his grandsons were to be men as noted as President Dwight, and as notorious as Aaron Burr. The great events then at hand may have been vaguely anticipated. The shadows, however, which they cast before them, could but poorly reveal their form and significance. A revolution in theology, as well as in government, was at hand in New England.

Now that the revolution has come, we look back to study the influence of this great Calvinist upon religion and theology. His position may be stated in few words. The Calvinistic creed had begun to lose ground among the people of New England, when he came to its rescue, and sought to defend and enlarge its leading dogmas by the mingled aid of Scripture and mental analysis. In his conclusions he differs not widely from Calvin, but very widely in his method of explaining and defending those conclusions. Calvin, the French refugee of Geneva, had the acute mind appropriate to the legal profession in which he was trained. Edwards possessed the higher power of the metaphysician, and, by subtle distinction and elaborate deductions, sought to justify to human reason doctrines which Calvin thinks to deduce from Scriptural precedent, and is not unwilling to state in all their intrinsic repulsiveness. We can but glance at the main points of Edwards's system, and of the antagonist system of the Arminians.

His starting principle was, that God is sovereign, and acts according to his own supreme will and arbitrary pleasure, without being bound by any obligation or any foresight of faith or merit. Whom he will, he elects to heaven. Whom he will, he dooms to hell. His great motive, and the end of creation, is to declare his own glory by the emanation of his own infinite fulness, "including the manifestation of his internal glory to created understandings, the communication of

the infinite fulness of God to the creature, the creature's high esteem of God, love to him, and complacency and joy in him ; and the proper exercises and expressions of these." The school in which Chauncy and Mayhew flourished, the one more as the learned theologian, the other more as the philosophical moralist, without denying or disparaging the sovereignty of God, attached most emphasis to his benevolence, and urged the benignity of his attributes rather than the supremacy of his power as the key to his government, and the ground of his dealing with men.

Edwards regarded men as by nature totally depraved, or fatally tainted with original sin, — not, indeed, under condemnation merely on account of Adam's sin, but as sharing in his fallen nature, heirs of his wickedness and of its consequences, even as the branches of a tree derive their character and lot from the parent stock. He asserted the freedom of the soul in one respect, and denied it in another. Man, according to him, is free to act as he pleases, but by no means free to please to act, except according to the nature of his depraved will or affections. He has natural ability, but not moral ability. No external power prevents his doing right. He cannot, simply because he will not, and cannot will ; just as a drunkard in extreme sottishness is said to be unable to reform, not because any outward force is brought to bear upon him, but because his appetite is so strong that he will not give up the cursed thing. Chauncy and his companions were also willing to assert the depravity of man, but denied that it went so far as to destroy his moral power, or prevent his laying hold of the means of recovery. He, with the Arminian divines, contended for freedom of will in the sense of power over its volition, — power to modify the volitions, not merely to act them out.

One more branch of doctrine needs to be mentioned. From the views of Edwards regarding God and man, it is obvious what his doctrine of salvation must be. God being sovereign, and man being totally corrupt, and doomed by nature to eternal woe, only sovereign elective grace can save him. He can be saved only by the Divine decree, which accepts the sacrifice of Christ as virtually in place of the sinner's penalty, and communicates to him such spiritual power as awakens or creates a new principle of love in his soul, and thus places him among the redeemed. The strong mind of Edwards was saved from the absurdity of maintaining that



Christ's sufferings are a vicarious payment of man's debts to the Divine justice, and of thus nullifying mercy by representing justice as fully satisfied, and the whole account between man and his Maker as squared. He deemed the sacrifice of Christ necessary, in order that man might be forgiven without disparagement to the Divine government. Chauncy and his school attributed far more power to man in the work, and described the influence of Christ's mission and sacrifice as brought near enough to every man by the Gospel to redeem all souls who will strive to lay hold of the proffered blessing. They preferred, however, to forego theorizing upon the nature of the atonement, and rest in the simple facts and statements of Scripture.

There are several minuter shades of doctrine by which Mr. Edwards explained his views, and modified the prevailing dogmatic Calvinism ; but upon these we cannot dwell. Nor can we enlarge upon the principles already stated as at issue between him and his antagonists. The feelings and convictions of most persons for whom we write are so decided, as to make the statement of these points equivalent to a determination of their merits. Our criticism of Edwards's system must be confined to a few leading traits, which at once illustrate the man and his principles.

First, we observe that he, like all prominent Calvinists, was more of a deductive than an inductive thinker ; more able and apt to deduce remote consequences from given principles, than to arrive at principles by a broad induction of facts. It is generally presumptuous to deny the correctness of his reasoning from his premises or starting-points. But consider well his premises, and at once grave misgivings arise, if not of their individual correctness, at least of their collective completeness. This faculty of intellect makes him almost invincible as an antagonist, especially in the attack ; for when his opponents state their own premises or definitions, since, upon all moral topics, definitions are generally insufficient or incomplete, they are entirely at his mercy. With his unsurpassed power of deduction, he traces each statement to its consequences, and each little rivulet of inadvertence or error swells into an Atlantic of folly or absurdity. As we read his assault upon the Arminian position, and see how ably he reduces some of its statements to absurdity, we cannot but imagine how his own position would appear, if assaulted with the like force, — what Pantheism might be de-

duced from his doctrine of Divine sovereignty, what Fatalism lurks in his views of free-will, and to what utter Universalism his theory of God's elective grace and the supreme excellence of love must lead. Let him turn his own powerful magnifier against himself, as he turned it against Taylor, Turnbull, and Williams, and motes enough would appear magnified into mountains. We cannot regard Edwards as by any means the master-mind in the broad survey of man, nature, and religion, that he was in tracing out favorite principles to ultimate results. In his way, and exalted as his aim was, he had, after all, much of the character of a special pleader.

A sad deficiency, surely, this was in one who undertook to describe and analyze the various and subtile parts of human consciousness, and to solve the enigmas that involve the relation of man to God. This is a second point of criticism upon Edwards and his school. How vastly different was the method of Him whom God sent to be our Teacher as well as Saviour! What profound yet tender recognition of all the facts of our nature, what simple yet sublime statements of the providence and attributes of God! We read the treatises on the Freedom of the Will, and on the Affections, with wonder, and not a little of admiration. But what relief we feel in turning to the words of Christ, listening to the story of the Prodigal Son, to learn by beautiful similitude what the sinner can do to find peace, and what the Father will do to grant pardon, — then to the parable of the Good Samaritan, to know what the affections are that please God and open heaven. Read what the austere Puritan says of God's hatred to the impenitent, — that he holds them over the pit of hell as one holds a loathsome insect, and that they are more abominable in his sight than the most loathsome serpent is in ours, — then turn to the Sermon on the Mount, and the contrast is striking enough. In these impressions we are not left to the limits of Liberal Christians for sympathy. We might quote, from the able pens of New Haven or Andover, animadversions quite as strong as are uttered among ourselves upon the great Puritan's severity.

We go on to say, that, mighty as this logician was in his deductions of consequences, he was in his premises often under the control of his emotions, and thus left to carry out logically trains of reasoning that started not in reason. His fundamental doctrine of election, that vexed topic that seems

to have originated in Paul's account of God's dealing with the Jews and Gentiles as nations, he imbibed, without being able to say how, whether from devout feeling or early association ; and his theory of original sin rests on an assumption in reference to the first chapters of Genesis, and, to take the view most favorable to him, was at least quite as much the result of his prostrate humility as the conclusion of his commanding intellect. Under the metaphysician and theologian lay the master elements of the poet and devotee. He mingled in himself qualities not often in such union. In his composition he seems to have had the heart of Bunyan, with the head of Spinoza. His mind was like the granite peak of a great volcano, its solid mass resting upon hidden fires that forced it up to its dizzy height, and still through its hard and adamant walls poured its flames heavenward, lending glory to the skies, and casting blackness and ashes upon the earth. There was much of the poetical element in his nature, and, as has been said, if we remember rightly, the world lost a poet in gaining a metaphysician. But his poetic sense, instead of dealing in playful fancies or building gorgeous castles, instead of a tendency towards such spiritual creations as the *Faery Queen* or *Paradise Lost*, revealed itself in the graphic illustrations, the intense objectivity, in which his ideas are presented. His fancies and feelings were engrossed by his vast doctrinal system, and were taken up by these abstract formulas, even as the electric fluid darts from its cloud and runs upon iron bars. His system aimed to bridge over the interval between heaven and earth, God and man. To his imagination, if we may change the figure, along its adamant steps came down the seven-fold lightnings of the judgment-seat, and again benignant angels ascended and descended upon their ministries of love.

His emotions were all religious. Shrinking from society, he lived chiefly as before God. Theocrat in heart, his system was, after all, the creature of his intellect, working at the bidding of his emotions. It is not difficult to imagine him, under the influence of other associations, giving his mind to the defence of far other doctrines. Educated in Italy, and in the noontide of the Papal despotism, with priestly influences flowing down upon him from gorgeous churches and learned schools, he might have rivalled Aquinas, become the Seraphic Doctor of Romish scholasticism, and have done for the creed of Hildebrand what he did for that of Calvin.

Or, placed in the circumstances of Richard Hooker, we can fancy him inflamed with something of that gifted man's inspiration, and defending the polity of the Elizabethan prelacy, as he did that of the Puritan theocracy.

In head and heart Edwards was a thorough-going metaphysical theocrat, using the iron sceptre of his logic in connection with the pages of revelation, as the Papal theocrat wields the iron sceptre of authority through the decrees of councils and the pageantry of rituals. He had the air of a vicegerent of God. His children always rose when he entered the room. So much a matter of course was his superiority over the other members of the family, that the silver bowl before him did not appear in any invidious contrast with the baser ware of the remainder of the table. How unlike the rough and benevolent Chauncy, whose children were frequently locked with him into the study to keep them out of the way, whilst he, good man, undisturbed by their noise, plunged into the folios of the Fathers to find arguments against Episcopacy, or was meditating upon the love of God in creation and redemption, bent upon proving the ultimate triumph of Divine mercy. Yet, with all his spectral majesty, Edwards was a most humble soul, and deemed himself the lowly instrument of Divine Providence. Unlike such men as Cotton Mather, he identified the cause of God with his own interests, not his own interests with the cause of God, and was saved from the scandal of always regarding his own opponents as of necessity the opponents of heaven.

Edwards was a theocrat of the dogmas, as the Catholic priest is a theocrat of the ritual. Compare him with Bossuet. As the Archbishop of Meaux sought to revive the waning power of the priestly hierarchy, so Edwards would do with the declining authority of the theocracy of doctrine. Bossuet stood forth, in all the magnificence of his pontifical robes and the splendor of the Papal ritual, to defend, by his rare learning, logic, and eloquence, the power of the priestly succession to grant or refuse the sacraments of salvation. This is ritual theocracy. In Puritan simplicity, with the Bible in hand, and no aids but his own commanding intellect and the spirit of God, the minister of Northampton stood up to plead for the Divine authority of his system of doctrine, made salvation accessible only through the medium of dogmatic truth, and, by right of the truth he professed to wield, dealt out joy and woe as under the commission of high Heav-



en itself. Such is the theocracy of the dogma. Who that knows any thing of Puritan greatness can doubt the force of such an appeal? Basing succession upon truth, not truth upon succession, it speaks in God's name, and alike on battle-fields, on the stormy seas, and amid the famines, pestilences, and earthquakes of early times, its cry has been, — "If God be for us, who can be against us?" With philosophy to back it, and without philosophy, this doctrine has acted with tremendous power upon men. Edwards surveyed the whole field of history from his dogmatic point of view. He wrote his *History of Redemption* as Bossuet wrote his *Essay upon Universal History*. Where one sees the traces of the imperishable hierarchy, the other sees the traces of the imperishable doctrine. It is no small privilege to look upon the broad chart of history through the eyes of these two master-spirits, these eagles of Meaux and Northampton. If the Frenchman has the more polished style, artistic arrangement, and statesmanlike grasp, the New-Englander is not less acute, comprehensive, and forcible. We should be sorry, however, to read history through no other eyes than theirs. Yet neither was the slave of system. The independent spirit that moved the one to be the champion of the liberties of the Gallican Church against Ultramontane usurpations is worthy of being named with the intrepidity with which the other took his stand in defence of Congregational freedom.

We must hasten now towards our conclusion, although it be at the sacrifice of a most interesting branch of the subject, — the relation of Edwards to the leading philosophers, especially the Christian philosophers, of his age. The eighteenth century was peculiarly a philosophical age. While the exile from Northampton was pursuing his exalted studies in the wilds of Stockbridge, other minds of similar tendencies, in quarters little familiar to him, were engaged in the same noble work, and striving to confirm Christian faith by the light of reason and philosophy. What an august conclave could have been assembled of sages living at the same time! For a moment suppose them brought together. From the see of Cloyne, in Ireland, let Berkeley come, honored, indeed, with the mitre, yet as humble-minded as when in his Rhode Island seclusion, more experienced in the world, but not the less a spiritualist from the knowledge of its grossness; from the episcopal palace of Durham let

Butler, master of the science of analogy, sage in the knowledge of man's moral nature, wisest of English moralists, come ; from his home in Bath let Hartley come, pattern of a Christian physician, and precursor of the host of men who have sought to illustrate the mind by the body, and to confirm Christianity by arguments drawn from both ; from his retired nook at Königsberg, Prussia, let Kant come, investigator of the laws of pure reason ; and with him, at respectful distance, the skeptic Hume, whose system he sought to demolish, and for his dreary doubt to substitute a deep philosophic faith ; let Sweden, too, send her sage, her mystic seer, for there is room for Emanuel Swedenborg in that assembly. When all have met together, let the Puritan divine and metaphysician enter. We will not discuss the true order of precedence, nor say what place belongs to him. Little honor will we claim for him as a master of style, if good style consists in the choice of the most classic words and the framing of the most harmonious periods. In style he falls as far below Berkeley as he rises above Butler. But surely this august assembly would present no spirit purer, no intellect stronger, than his. To Edwards belongs a chief place among the metaphysicians of the eighteenth century, a high place among the intellects of our race. As we have been wont to believe, the highest honor among the teachers of our race belongs to those who have taught men to acknowledge spiritual realities, and moved them to live as subjects of a Divine kingdom. The view which Edwards took of the natural depravity of the human heart, and its innate incapacity for spiritual life, shall not prevent our regarding him as one of the great spiritualists of the Church. Devoutly he believed in the Divine light, and was the means of its shining in many souls. It is the baser, and more frequent, error to doubt or deny its existence, than to mourn as he did over the original sin that had extinguished its flame.

Let us look now upon our New England, and consider the changes that have taken place since his day. He still lives in his works, and his opinions, however much modified in the creed of his avowed followers, are still consulted with reverence, and by not a few regarded as authoritative. Princeton and East Windsor may be alone ready to bind themselves to his authority, yet Andover and New Haven rejoice to honor his name and laud his theological services, whilst Cambridge has no word of disparagement for his character. New Eng-

land owes him gratitude, if not for the details of his system, surely for the elevation of his aims, and the school of intellectual discipline in which so many strong minds have been trained. Chauncy survived him twenty years, and saw changes which his sterner compeer was not permitted to witness. Chauncy lived to pronounce the funeral sermon of the noble Mayhew, and to see the consummation of the result for which Mayhew had so fondly hoped, — our country independent of the sceptre and crosier of England. He lived to see innovations considerably in advance of his own avowed position. In his day, the Trinitarian clauses were stricken from the Liturgy of King's Chapel, which he once feared would combine or exhibit the sway of the crown and the mitre. He lived to see his warnings against fanaticism heeded, and the sober men of the strictest sect adopting his views respecting the marks of true religion and church prosperity. As he grew old, devotion more and more absorbed him, and subdued a heart more prone by nature to strength than to tenderness of feeling. With doctrines hopeful and benevolent, that despaired of no man's final salvation, he rivalled in the fervor of his piety the austere man whose name he had rarely mentioned in controversy, but whose tendencies he had been called upon to oppose, content with exhibiting the excesses of Whitefield, Tennent, and Davenport, without presuming to say how much of their extravagance had its countenance in the revivalist of Northampton. Both these fathers of our churches trusted in the living God, and owned with prostrate devotion his glory in Christ.

They have been the spiritual fathers of a mighty host, and by affinity with one or the other the tendencies of subsequent times may be designated. Their names stand fitly at the head of the Christian Independents, the Congregationalists, of New England, and, in fact, of our whole country. We are not amongst those who are ashamed of the history of Congregationalism. The Congregationalists of New England, both Orthodox and Liberal, have given to our country its noblest intellectual, moral, and religious treasures. They have taken the lead in all laudable enterprise. The useful arts, literature, theology, missions, education, moral reform, practical religion, have found their chief champions among them.

It is a solemn thing to review the lives of our illustrious fathers. In all their diversities of doctrine and temperament,

how they trusted in God, the living God ! How steadfastly they looked to the great First Cause through all second causes ! How is it now, in this age of the apotheosis of nature, the adoration, almost, of science, the industrial arts, and the gold to which they are made so mightily to minister ?

We are men of the third century of New England. Let us not forget the lesson of the first and second centuries. Think of the first age. Call up the image of the Pilgrim band. We may almost hear the Atlantic waves beating against the rock-bound coast, and see the weary ship appear with its Heaven-guided company, and catch the sound of their mighty anthem, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake." The worthies of the second age appear, and, with their more advanced civilization, thought, and liberality, speak the same sentiment through men as diverse as the rigid Edwards and the more hopeful Chauncy. Let the men of the third age give the response. Let not the cares of the world, nor the delusions of partial science, nor the worship of second causes, nor the decencies of external morality, nor even the excitements of social reform, lead us to forget to worship the God of our fathers, and crave the grace proffered through his Son. Whilst so many causes give the mind a horizontal turn, and in this line so many of our interests lead, let us not slight the beacon fingers that point upward to God and eternity. Edwards may help to teach us this lesson the more, if we can look upward through a more cheering creed than was his.

S. O.  
*Saml. May*

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#### ART. V. — THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN.\*

THE "Revelation" of St. John is, to the majority of readers, still a riddle. We welcome, beforehand, the attempt, coming from one of the freer sections of the Church, to remove the *seventy times* seven-fold seal with which a book, to us so impressive and practical, as well as poetical, has for ages been sealed, by those whom "much learning"

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\* *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John, the Divine.* By THOMAS WHITTEMORE. Boston: J. M. Usher. 1848. 12mo. pp. 388.



(or much ignorance) had made "mad." The appearance of a popular commentary on the Apocalypse, in style and size corresponding to the Notes of Barnes and Livermore, is, to us, an interesting, and, we would fain think, a promising, phenomenon in our modern Church history. It is one of our favorite notions, that the Revelation of St. John, the Divine, is destined, one day, to become a popular book; we mean a book which the people can understand, appreciate, and admire. That the work before us will help toward this result we do not doubt, notwithstanding our dissent from several of the writer's positions. For he respects, on the whole, poetry and common sense in his interpretation far more than does any treatise on the subject in English with which we are acquainted. Even this liberal critic, indeed, seems to us somewhat too literal, at times, and prosaic in the tone and tendency of his explanations; but, on the whole, we are grateful for the volume he has given us, and glad to speed it on its mission, which we trust will be successful, so far as to draw a wide and rational and greatly enlightened attention to a long abused part of Scripture.

We differ from Mr. Whittemore on two points. He maintains that John wrote his Revelation fifteen or twenty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the reign of Nero. Not considering the external evidence as decisive, he relies upon internal. We do not think he makes out his case. We should like, if we had room here, to shake apart his loose logic on the subject; but we must hasten on to bring forward presently our own view on a more important topic, — the general character of the Apocalypse and its meaning for us and for all time. We would submit, however, for the present, to Mr. Whittemore and his readers, whether it is really credible that Nero was the great beast, the scarlet-colored beast on which the mystic woman rode, the seven-headed, ten-horned beast, *one* of whose heads was apparently wounded to death and then healed, — that Nero was the terrible beast whose enmity to the Lamb occupies so much of the book, and which *not till after the destruction of Rome* (or Paganism, or Popery, whichever it be) was cast into the lake of fire. We submit whether it would not have been wiser in this case, as in the case of the "Six hundred and sixty-six," to say, "Let him that hath understanding give the name and number of the beast; we have not that understanding." For ourselves, we apprehend that the

“seven” assigned as the number of the kings is purely a poetic Hebraism. It seems to us that the greater proportion of Mr. Whittemore’s eight arguments prove no more than that John describes the destruction of Jerusalem, — as we, and all, admit he does ; but simply by taking a position in imagination *out of time*, whence he can see the past as future and the future as past. As to resemblances between the Revelation and Apostolic writings confessedly earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, we see not why John may not have borrowed from them, as well as they from John. The idea, that Peter’s “sure word of prophecy” refers to the Apocalypse, is refuted by Peter himself, who says, a verse or two after, that he means prophecy of “old time.” The argument, that a man of ninety or a hundred years would not be apt to display such “luxuriance of imagination,” is met by the facts, that John was in a peculiarly exciting situation, that he is very greatly indebted to the imagery of the ancient prophets, and that, as an Apostle, he was open to special inspiration. Finally, we commend to Mr. Whittemore a passage or two from Bishop Prettyman, who, after adducing Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, and several ancient fathers, all of whom placed the banishment of St. John to Patmos in the latter part of the reign of Domitian, says : — “It appears from the book itself, that churches had already been established for a considerable time in Asia Minor, since St. John reproaches them, in the name of Christ, with faults which do not take place immediately ; he blames the church at Ephesus for having left its first love. . . . Now the church at Ephesus, for example, was not founded by St. Paul till the latter part of the reign of Claudius ; and when he wrote to them from Rome in the year 61 or 62, so far from reproaching them with any defect of love, on the contrary he commends their love and their faith.”

But Mr. Whittemore’s argument involves the assumption, that all those prophecies of the Saviour and his apostles respecting his second coming, which John’s so much resemble, relate to the destruction of Jerusalem only, and this brings us to our second topic of dissent. We hold it a signal error to believe that the second coming of Jesus meant only, or chiefly, the destruction of Jerusalem. Undoubtedly it meant that, but it meant infinitely more. That was the signal, the beginning, of his kingdom ; but it stretches forward into eternity. Mr. Whittemore overlooks the important fact, that the de-

scent of the New Jerusalem, the setting up of the great white (mediatorial) throne, the renovation of the heavens and the earth, the sitting of Christ's followers on their thrones, which were to take place, according to this Commentary, immediately upon the downfall of the holy city, do not after all take place till the destruction of Rome, which (according to any calculation) must date some centuries later. Our Christian faith, our poetic sense, and our common sense alike revolt at the idea of explaining that language about the earth *and sea* giving up their dead as a mere figurative way of describing the moral resurrection of men in this world. And we must protest here, generally, against the paradox, which vitiates the Commentary before us, of making the solemn "Revelations" of John and of Jesus preach (even negatively) the Universalist doctrine, — we mean the predestined, certain, inevitable salvation of all souls.

But, commending Mr. Whittemore's book, for all this, as an interesting, ingenious, and suggestive work, we must proceed to present our own view of the whole subject.

We do not propose, in this article, to give an exposition of the Apocalypse, which has been done in two earlier numbers of our journal.\* We wish simply to make such general remarks on the book as may help to prepare the way for a right study and a practical application of it.

The Apocalypse, as we have said, though called a "Revelation," is, to the majority of readers, still a riddle. And if the literal mode of interpreting it be the right one, must we not think that it was a great misnomer on the part of the author, or of the Church, his editor, to call the book a Revelation? Literally interpreted, prosaically approached, experience would seem to declare that it veils far more than it reveals; or, if this mysterious character must be supposed to belong to the very nature of a spiritual revelation, then let us amend the phrase by saying, that the Apocalypse, literally expounded, only makes visible the very darkness it proposed to dispel, and may well justify the title given to a celebrated commentary upon it, — "Revelation Revealed," — in other words, *Illumination Illuminated*.

If the mode in which the Apocalypse has been so generally handled in the Church, by learned and simple, be the correct one, vain was it, one would think, that the writer, at the out-

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\* *Christian Examiner* for May, 1830, and September, 1844.

set, represented the Holy Spirit as intending to *show* unto his servants the things which must shortly come to pass ; vain was it, that, at the conclusion, he was told not to “ seal ” his book, because the time was at hand. It certainly may be said to have been, from the beginning, a “ sealed book,” and to be so at this day, with multitudes, and not unlearned readers alone. It was not altogether a frivolous or foolish remark of Voltaire’s, that “ Sir Isaac Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation to console mankind for the great superiority he had over them in other respects.” Luther, imaginative as he was, when he would indulge himself in that way, gave up this book for a perfect puzzle, and the reason was, that he wanted to reduce it to a statement of facts. “ Let whoso can make any thing of it make what he can,” says he ; “ I can make nothing.”

It is probably known to most of our readers, that the Revelation was the last of the sacred books admitted into the volume of the New Testament. The slowness of its admission into the canon, which was not ecclesiastically completed till after several Councils, seems to have been owing, not so much to want of evidence in regard to its authorship, (though the opinion of antiquity was divided on that point, some maintaining it to be the work of *one* John, an Ephesian *elder*,) as to a feeling that its obscurity or its enigmatical character made its insertion in the public Church Scriptures inadvisable, — a feeling strengthened by the fact of its having been made the occasion of confirming, even so early in the history of the Church, the notion, against which an Apostle had warned his brethren, that the day of the Lord was literally at hand. So that, even in those early ages, the Apocalypse seems to have been a sort of sealed book, and since it has been *published*, so to speak, and in the hands of all, as an inspired, authoritative, didactic production, it has too generally been made worse than a sealed book, between ignorant fanaticism on the one hand, and learned folly on the other.

Many and various Symbolical Dictionaries have been prepared for the purpose of guiding the reader through the, so-called, mystical writings of the Bible, such as the prophecies of John and Daniel, and particularly for furnishing rules by which any one, no matter whether he has the poetic spirit or not, may understand and apply the figures (both arithmetical and rhetorical) with which these writings are so filled and marked. These keys have been made out, generally, by



comparing Scripture with Scripture, — a very proper course, when properly conducted ; but in this case almost all the interpreters, however they may differ in their results, have agreed in starting upon one and the same erroneous principle, namely, that of literal interpretation, not to say on the false theory of literal inspiration. Accordingly, they undertake to tell us, by a collection and comparison of Scripture places, what is meant by “ a day ” in the symbolical language of the prophets, and what the “ three days and a half ” denote, and what the “ twelve hundred and sixty days,” and what the emblem of a “ beast ” signifies, and what a “ dragon,” and what a “ red dragon,” and what a “ woman riding on a beast ” typifies, and what is the spiritual and symbolical meaning of “ waters,” and what of “ mountains,” and so on, through a long catalogue of numbers and metaphors. Thus, one will find it set down that “ a day ” means a thousand years, because Peter says expressly “ one day is with the Lord as a thousand years,” — these calculators omitting to notice the two qualifications, first, that the Apostle says “ *as [as it were] a thousand years,*” implying that he speaks figuratively, poetically, and not literally, and, secondly, that he is speaking of what times and things are in the *Lord’s* sight. In a similar spirit one will find it laid down, that because St. John, having described a beast rising out of the sea, afterwards draws out his metaphor into the form of a comparison by explaining the sea to mean nations and empires, therefore, in another place, when the dragon vomits forth a flood to swallow the mystic woman, the meaning of course is, that he sent forth multitudes and tribes of men to persecute and destroy her. We are not objecting to this particular interpretation, but to the principle of laying these things down so precisely and stiffly, and giving laws, as it were, to the inspired poet’s genius. We would not be understood as proposing to give information on these points, or even as intending to criticize the correctness of the results at which interpreters have arrived. Many of those results may be true ; but if they should be, as regards the details of precise historical fulfilment, we humbly apprehend it will be because they are, after all, but a few among a multitude of ingenious guesses.

We would not venture on the rashness of denying that St. John, in describing the downfall of Rome, refers to the destruction of Papal as well as Imperial power, — of nominally Christian, as well as Pagan idolatry and despotism. The

description of the mother of abominations in connection with the lamb-like looking beast with a dragon's voice is certainly, at least, a close coincidence.\* Still, after all, we think there has been too much or too exclusive attention to the fate of particular institutions, the Papacy, for instance, as if the fall of that were the destruction of the beast, rather than the fall of the Roman imperial power. The *spirit* of Papacy, the spirit of priestly despotism, is not confined to the Romish Church. And why should the "man of sin" be any individual man? Why is it not "the old man," to which Paul elsewhere refers, the carnal man which exists in every individual, even in the Church, — called "the man of sin," because manifested in a new and peculiarly repulsive form, that of Christian pride and persecution, Christian inquisition and intolerance?

It may seem inconsistent to censure the old modes of interpreting the Apocalypse as *literal*, when they expressly recognize its symbolical character. So they do. But still they manifest, in the explanation of the symbols, in the translation of the figures into facts, a literal spirit. We do not find fault with them for representing the Apocalypse as mystical and typical, if by that be meant imaginative and poetical; but we do find fault with them for not respecting the freedom and fervor of the poet's genius, and even (may we not say, especially?) of the prophet's inspiration. They treat St. John's burning words as if he had coolly picked them out of the great symbolical and hieroglyphic dictionary of the Spirit. Now the great characteristic of the imagination, of the figurative faculty, is, that in its grasp and glow language and creation become pliant and fusible. The spirit is not tied down to use words and images always with one fixed meaning; and what they do mean must be caught by ardent sympathy, not conned and spelt out by cold criticism. Because St. John, pacing the sandy margin of his lonely island, sees and hears, in the tumultuous waves dashing around him, an emblem of "peoples and nations," we are not to set it down, that, whenever he speaks of seas, he means multitudes of men. The truth is, no lexicon, no Runic grammar, will ever bring a

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\* Mr. Whittemore seems to us to pass too lightly over the fact, that this beast, otherwise called "false prophet," imitated a lamb. Did not John mean to convey the idea of a beast imitating *the* Lamb, — an Antichrist, — one who "came out from" the Church, as he says in his Epistle, assuming a Christian sanctity?

prosaic mind or mood to a right appreciation of the Apocalypse. To understand it truly, one must be in the spirit of piety and in the spirit of poetry, — must have the spirit of the Lord and the spirit of liberty. Will it be said, Who, then, shall presume to interpret the book, and “to loose the seals thereof”? We answer, although no human being may have the proper gifts in proper proportions or in a perfect degree, yet a measure of them is within the reach of all, and just so far as we have drunk in the genuine spirit of the Christian poet, prophet, and saint, just so far shall we be enabled to comprehend the essential meaning of the Revelation of St. John.

It may sound presumptuous to some, to hear it said that we, of this day, are capable of understanding the Scripture better than it was understood, in many respects, in the first ages after the Apostles themselves. They who, unacquainted with the mystical tendency of the minds of many of the early fathers, please their fancy with applying to these matters the proverb, “The nearer the source, the purer the stream,” will find in Church history an abundance of refractory facts. The truth is, that wisdom is not always, like knowledge, transmitted from generation to generation. And it is wisdom we most want in interpreting the Revelation.

We humbly apprehend that the great reason why the Apocalypse has so long been such a sealed book is twofold; first, that the imagination, and, secondly, that the conscience, have not been sufficiently exercised in the interpretation of it. It may sound paradoxical enough, to say that the imagination has not been sufficiently indulged on this subject. One would think it the great trouble, that imagination has had the Apocalypse all to itself, and run wild over its pages. And so fancy has; but we mean by imagination a somewhat different faculty. Fancy may be ever so much employed in the interpretation of Scripture, and yet, after all, the interpretation be very literal in its basis, very precise, prim, and prosaic in its tone and tendency. A good illustration is afforded by the Swedenborgian theory, particularly in regard to the doctrine of symbols and correspondences. Fancy amuses itself more with the parts; imagination grasps the whole and goes to the soul of it. Fancy is more a passive, imagination a practical faculty.

If any suppose that it is dangerous to the authority of Scripture to allow the license in its interpretation for which

we are contending, they may be assured of one thing, that there is often more danger from the literal than from the liberal, from the prosaic than from the poetic, way of handling Scripture. This position, we fully believe, history will sustain. It is fancy that has done the mischief of perverting and perplexing Scripture, and not imagination, — the literal, and not the spiritual principle.

In dwelling so much on the error of attempting to interpret the Apocalypse literally, we have been actuated principally by considering the effect of persistence in that error upon the feelings of multitudes with regard to a most precious production. The effect has been, we apprehend, to urge the minds of the skeptical, and of the great mass of unreflecting readers, over into the opposite extreme, of conceiving, that, as the sharp eyes of the critics can make nothing consistent out of the book, in all probability there is nothing in it, clear or connected. While the doctors are disputing whether this or that prediction relates to Attila or Napoleon, to the Huns or the Jacobins, the Papal or the Mahometan power, — while they are developing and defending, here an alleged reference to the Protestant Reformation, and there to the French Revolution, — attention is distracted from the real meaning and majesty of the book, and the common reader says, “ Well, if there is any doctrine in it, let them find it whose business it is ”; and the caviller deems it as much as the subject deserves, to dismiss it with the light remark, that the writer was probably old, childish, and crazed by his troubles, and scarcely knew what he meant himself by the rhapsody.

Now between these two extremes, as we conceive, lies the true view of the character and import of the Apocalypse. In our opinion, as they are greatly misled who seek in it, throughout, specific predictions, and literal circumstantial descriptions of fact, so do they egregiously err who pronounce upon it or neglect it as a mere rhapsody. The Revelation of St. John is a highly finished work of genius, and the study which it requires, and will repay, is not that which aims at deducing from it cold dogmas or precise facts, but that which comprehends the imaginative beauty and keeping of the whole, and thus, through the imagination, appreciates its deeper meaning for the heart, its more solemn meaning for the conscience.

If our view of the inspiration and authority of the Apoca-



lypse be correct, it is not, indeed, a vital question, whether it was written by John the Evangelist or John the elder, or whether it was written by some person in the name and character of St. John, just as Ecclesiastes is by some supposed to be the work of one placing himself in Solomon's situation and expressing the natural sentiments of such a man at the close of such a life. There are several things, however, about the work, which convince us that it was actually the production of the aged Evangelist and exile himself, — things which, in the hands of the author of the "*Horæ Paulinæ*," might have produced a *Horæ Johanninæ*, or argument for the Johannean authorship of the Apocalypse (and Mr. Whittemore has produced one), of no mean cogency. And there is one slight, but significant, circumstance in the first verse of the twenty-first chapter, which seems to throw a strong side-light on the authorship of the book. The writer, in his picture of the new earth of the millennium, says, "And there was no more sea." How natural, now, that a man banished to a desolate island, — listening all day long to the monotonous and melancholy swell of the ocean, and reminded continually of the watery barrier that separated him from friends to whom he was bound by so many natural and spiritual ties, — should, in his visions of heaven, find that *there* was no more sea to separate friends! So the Nadowessian Indian, in the dirge which the poet has made for him, sings : —

"Well with him! he's gone for ever,  
Where is no more *snow*."

Those everlasting snow-drifts, through which he had so often toiled, and in which he had so often wellnigh lost himself or slept the sleep of death, could not make a part of his heaven.

We assume the ground, of course, that the writer of the Apocalypse adopted the peculiar kind of imagery he has used from the natural tendency of his feelings, circumstances, and education. Any one who should regard all these features of the narrative as literally prophetic might, perhaps, prefer to avail himself of the discoveries of the telescope, and from the analogy of the well-known astronomical fact, that in the moon there is no water, and every appearance of a burnt-out world, might reason that when the future conflagration of our world shall take place, which is so frequently referred to by Prophet and Apostle, the elements melting with fervent heat, the air and sea of our globe shall be burnt

up likewise, preparatively to the renovation of the earth for its new inhabitants. We are not disposed, however, to take this literal view of Scripture and of prophecy, — certainly not to take such a view of the state of mind of the writer of the Apocalypse. Here was an aged Apostle, — one who from the beginning had been with Jesus and imbibed the spirit which “beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven,” and whose mind might well be filled and fired with glowing anticipations of the triumph of Christianity. He was by birth and early training a pious Jew, — a devout reader of the old Scriptures; at the same time, he had lived to see the holy city destroyed, and the temple left without one stone on another. It was “the Lord’s day,” — in more than one sense, *the day of the Lord*. The close of the century, and of his life-day, was approaching. His bosom companions, Peter and James, the other two of that favored three, had gone before him through the gate-way of martyrdom, and he was left alone. Must not those last words of the Master, when, predicting the fate of John, he said, “If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?” have lingered on the old man’s ears and sunk into his heart, and kindled the fires of imagination in his fading age? Many of the signs of his coming which Christ had predicted had already taken place. But the Son of Man had not yet fully come, nor had *he* yet tasted death. Yet he was one of the very last links that connected the Church on earth with the Church in heaven. Being, then, still a partaker of mortality, being man, and an old man, and thus situated, internally and externally, how must the yearnings of hope and of memory (which is a sort of inverted hope) have beat against the frail clay which confined them!

It has been argued, that the Apocalypse could not have been written by an old man. Enough for our present purpose to repeat, that we assume a peculiar assistance of celestial inspiration. We only say, that, in recording what the vision and the voice made known, the prophet was undoubtedly affected by the natural susceptibilities of his situation, his eventful age, his declining years. Thus cut off from his brethren, with no companions but the memories of the past and the anticipations of the future, with the gorgeous imagery of the ancient prophets ever shaping to him the clouds of heaven, and the solemn revelations of his Master murmuring in his ears with the murmur of the waters that dashed and

moaned around him, we conceive him to have composed, not for the information of future ages of the Church, but for his own comfort and for the comfort and encouragement of his tried and suffering brethren of the then existing Church militant, a Poem on the Triumph of Christianity. Ages on ages might elapse, might seem to drag along, through cloud and blood, before such a consummation could be realized; but come it must, and to the sacred seer, already caught up in faith and vision "beyond the flaming bounds of space and time," the longest and slowest ages dwindled and fled away, and the hour of completion was at hand. And so he wrote his prophetic poem, as if it were a dramatized history, marking the changes of the acts and scenes with the sound of a trumpet and the voice of thunder, and painting on the curtain, as it fell at the interludes, pictures the most awful and glorious. His subject being, as we have said, the Triumph of Christianity, he treated it in three parts or acts. In the first, after a preface of admonition to the churches which constitute his spectators and audience, and then a prologue preparatory to the solemn drama to be enacted, the downfall of Judaism or Jerusalem, the first obstacle to the spiritual religion of Jesus, is represented in highly wrought images, from the eighth chapter to the twelfth. Then, after a sort of interlude in heaven, the second act opens in the thirteenth chapter, and describes the downfall of the second foe of Christianity, Paganism, political and priestly, under the emblem of Babylon (for so it was deemed prudent in those times to denounce Rome under another name), and this act continues to the twentieth chapter. That chapter seems to contain a second interlude, and then, in the last two chapters, the third and closing act represents the peaceful erection of the kingdom of God, the setting up of his tabernacle, the descent of the New Jerusalem upon the renovated ruins of the old world.

There are three several and striking forms in which a coincidence and correspondence may be traced between the prophecy of John and portions of the Old Testament. The aged author of the Apocalypse combines in himself the Jewish prophet and the Christian poet. We need only remind our readers how naturally he derives a great proportion of his imagery from those old prophets of his childhood, Daniel, and Ezekiel, and Joel, and Isaiah. From them came, with the modifications which his own imagination has

given them, the mystical city, the celestial throne, and the beasts, the flying roll, and the sealed book, the scourges and the witnesses, and many of the most gorgeous images of the millennial reign. In the new dispensation's prophetic Evangelist we have the spirituality of Christian faith and revelation superadded to the purity and sublimity of the old dispensation's evangelic Prophet. Particularly is the correspondence to be remarked, that exists between the last chapter of Daniel and the last chapter of John's Revelation. It will be remembered that John's angel bade him "seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand"; which is a counterpart to the direction that was given the prophet Daniel, namely, that he should shut and seal the book of the vision which he saw, because the end was not yet to be for many days. The correspondence between the two writers seems to us worth following out a little. Daniel records, that he inquired of the man who stood "on the waters of the river," what and when should be the end of these wonders which had been announced to him. And the angel, lifting up his hands to heaven, "sware by Him that liveth for ever" that they should continue "for a time, times, and a half," in other words, that they should be for many days, as a previous chapter has it; which Daniel, it would seem, understood not, and which it would appear not to have been intended that even he should understand fully. "But thou, O Daniel," said the angel, "shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end. Many shall run to and fro" (meanwhile, that is, there shall be great agitation and enterprise among the nations of the earth), "and knowledge shall be increased." But "go thy way, Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end. Many" (indeed) "shall be purified and made white, and tried" (and found perfect after the fiery trial); "but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand" (all that is necessary for their salvation). And "blessed is he that waiteth" — was the conclusion of the whole matter — to the clearing up of the great mystery; and for thee, "go thou thy way," in faith and rest and hope, "till the end be."

On turning now to the tenth chapter of the Apocalypse, we see an angel, whose appearance is described, in some respects, with a striking similarity to Daniel's description, who stands with "his right foot upon the sea and his left



foot on the earth," and, lifting his hand to heaven, swears "by Him that liveth for ever," that there shall "be time" (or respite) "no longer," — that the end of the times is at hand, that "the mystery of God" is about to "be finished, as He hath declared to his servants the prophets." It certainly is not a far-fetched supposition, that the prophet Daniel is here especially alluded to, though the connection would indicate that "the mystery" spoken of denotes the opening of the kingdom of heaven to the Gentiles, with which Apostles, as well as Prophets, are so largely occupied. But when we come to the concluding chapters of the Apocalypse, to the portion commencing with the vision of the great white throne, and the general resurrection, and the book of life, and particularly when we come to the very last chapter, the coincidence in the general tone and coloring of the representation, and the correspondence in particular directions and declarations, between the prophet of Babylon and the prophet of Patmos, become most marked, and, perhaps we may say, instructive. The man in Daniel's vision had said, that he was blessed who should wait patiently, for it would be yet long before the end of these things; the angel of John's revelation says, — "Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." The man who appeared to Daniel bade him close and seal his book till "the time of the end" (or the end of time), adding, that, in the long interval of probation, many would be purified and come out white from the trial through which they were made to pass, but that the wicked would do wickedly, — would be only hardened by the furnace of affliction; and John, placed in vision at the final point which Daniel beheld in the dim distance of futurity, and beholding the end as clearly as if it were already present, hears his angel say, — "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand"; and hears him add the solemn sentence (so exactly following out the prediction in Daniel of what men *would* do), — "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still."

Secondly; if the book of Job is as ancient as some critics suppose, the inspired writings properly begin and end with a poem, — each sublime beyond comparison of mere human productions; the scene of one laid far back in the dim twilight of a patriarchal age, in the dawn of the primitive world

and the primitive faith, and stretching far up into that heaven, where Satan is yet unfallen and one of the ministering spirits before the throne, and to the time when the morning stars sang together for joy ; and the scene of the other laid amidst the awful glories of the last day, the day of the Lord, the great day of judgment against the cities and the despotisms of the earth, the day of the millennial consummation, of the annihilation of evil and the Prince of evil, the dwelling of the tabernacle of God among men, the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on the new-created earth.

But, thirdly, it is remarkable, in whatever way we are to account for it, how felicitously the book of Genesis and the book of Revelation combine to form the *setting*, if we may say so, of the grand whole of Scripture. These two poems, — the one containing the history of the first creation, and the other the prophecy of the consummation of the second creation, — the one representing the fall of the race, and the other the restoration and redemption of the chosen seed, — how perfectly are they adapted to each other ! If this adaptation was the work of the Church, it shows, to our mind, that in this the Church had the spirit of God. How beautifully do all things come round again ! The seed of the woman has bruised the serpent's head, and he is crushed and destroyed for ever ; and the vivid and sublime vision of him who beheld Satan as lightning falling from heaven, and the confident and consoling anticipation of that apostle of his, who, after the lapse of a generation, wrote, " The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly," are both realized. Man has returned, after so many ages of trial and of torment, to the paradise from which he first wandered, driven forth by the angel who guarded the tree of life with the flaming sword. Here is the tree of life again by the river of life ; it is the tree of *Christian* life ; and the aged seer, remembering the goodly company of his brother Apostles, and the number of the tribes of Israel, beholds that the tree bears " twelve manner of fruits," and musing on the world-wide influence their writings are to carry with them, he remarks that the very " leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations."

How beautifully, then, in the mirror of this book, are reflected, at once, the position of its aged author in the pilgrimage of life, and of his religion in the militant pilgrimage of its fortunes, and of his book itself in the great volume of revelation !

On the whole, we would say, that only by approaching the Apocalypse as a sublime poem, as a work of faith and feeling and imagination, can one fully and fairly appreciate its power for the conscience. Unless so approached, it is a sealed book. So approaching it, we feel that the time is, indeed, at hand, and that its sayings are faithful and true. As Daniel, in closing one of his visions, said, "The vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days"; so John, in closing his vision, says, or represents his angel as saying, "These sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done. Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book," — language, indeed, which may well remind us of the claims of the whole volume which these special revelations so happily complete. These sayings of the Apocalypse — its sublime spiritual sentences, as well as its searching moral monitions — *are* true and faithful, — faithful to the universal conscience of man, — faithful and true echoes of the hopes and the fears of every heart which has heard the sound of the prophetic word of Christ. To every thoughtful heart that has heard the voice of the Teacher of Nazareth, the gorgeous poetry and scenic life of the Apocalypse will not veil, so much as reveal, the momentous character of those profound and eternal realities which are too great to be represented in any other way than by being shadowed forth thus darkly, but powerfully, through allegory and parable. The seven churches will be perceived and felt to stand for all Christian churches in all ages of time; the struggles and successes of the faith, set forth with such a wealth of typical imagery, will be felt to represent what is still going on in the world; in the thunderings and lightnings that accompany the opening of the seals will be heard the warnings and be seen the sword-flashes of conscience, the avenging angel; and in all, the spirit will hear God talking with it, as with the voice of a trumpet, to awaken it from the sleep of lukewarmness, to encourage it amidst the conflict with trial and temptation, and to rouse it and keep it nerved to the strife for ever going on between "the lamb" and "the beast" in human society and in human character. Thus studied, St. John's great poem will make us feel the essential ugliness

of sin amidst all its borrowed charms, and the majesty of down-trodden righteousness. It will impress upon us, that Heaven is not indifferent to this great struggle between the bestial and the saintly in the world and in the hearts of men, — that God, and Jesus, and the spirits of just men made perfect are all on the side of struggling virtue and righteousness, — and that

“ Truth crushed to earth shall rise again ;  
The eternal years of God are hers ;  
While Error, wounded, writhes with pain,  
And dies amid her worshippers.”

In reading and studying this Revelation, how thrillingly will the promise, sounded as through a trumpet, to him who overcometh, fall upon our ears ! How will the rebuke pronounced against the dead-alive formalist smite our consciences. And how shall we yearn to be found among those arrayed in white robes, the hundred and forty-four thousand who sing the new song before the throne, who follow the true and faithful Captain in his triumphal march, and who enter in after him through the gates into the city !

Let no one be so thoughtless as to forget that the Apocalypse, poem though it be, reveals solid truths and solemn realities, which are only the more solemn and momentous, because they cannot be fully expressed in plain speech, and because the highest and profoundest imagery can but dimly shadow forth their vastness and eternal importance. John saw in vision “ a great white throne,” and “ the dead, small and great, came to judgment.” And where is the man who has not, even with our measure of the spirit, frequent glimpses, even through the glare and shadow of this world of anxiety and delusion, of that judgment-throne and of Him who sits on it, — that throne of awful and appalling whiteness and ghostliness to the spirit conscious of guilt, of lovely and peaceful whiteness and purity to the child-like and obedient ? In vain would any man banish that throne out of sight for ever ; let him so live, that it shall win, and not warn only, shall inspire solemnity, but not gloom.

We have only one more thought to suggest. The author of the Apocalypse speaks of “ these things ” as about to take place soon. How many have gone to the grave, and to the scenes beyond it, who in their life-time had heard much speculation and witnessed much fanaticism respecting the end of the world and the coming of Christ, and pleased them-



selves with the secret assurance that it would not take place till after their death ! As if this very event of their death were comparatively of no account ! As if this very event were not, to them, the great consummation and conflagration of all things ! In view of the certainty and the swiftness of the coming of that event to every man, ought not every one to take to himself a meaning from those words, — “ The time is at hand. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still ; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still ; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still ; and he that is holy, let him be holy still ” ? What an impressive and awakening idea is here suggested of the importance of the present and passing moments ! It is as if it were said, — The time is so short and swift, that, unless men do what they have to do *now*, they must go as they are. How true it is, that “ now is the accepted time ” ! Let such be the burden of the Revelation of St. John, — the burden of that whole Scripture which it so beautifully and solemnly closes.

C. T. B.

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ART. VI. — THE PISCATAQUA ASSOCIATION OF MINISTERS.\*

WITH the constant accumulation of (so called) new literature, the periodical that would assume the office of a retrospective review can do so only by ignoring the present ; for it would be as idle to wait for a pause in the torrent-like issues of the press, as it was for Æsop's clown to tarry on the bank till the river had run by. But the publications named below recall the memory of a cluster of distinguished and venerable men, of whose worth and services we would make some inadequate record before the generation that knew them has wholly passed away. Probably the Piscataqua Association of Ministers at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century comprised more men of eminence in the pulpit, in council, and in the various walks of private duty, than any other similar association in the coun-

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\* 1. *Prayer-Book, for the Use of Families ; prepared by the Association of Ministers on Piscataqua River, and recommended by them as an Assistant to the Social Devotions of Families.* Portsmouth. 1799. 12mo. pp. 72.

2. *The Piscataqua Evangelical Magazine for 1805.* Portsmouth. 8vo. pp. 240.

try. They were almost all of them picked men, such as, in the process of absorption and centralization which drains our rural districts of talent as well as wealth, in favor of the great cities, would now be found only in metropolitan parishes. They were sufficient, each of himself, to give a name and a character to the town which enjoyed his services, and to attract to his parsonage the frequent society of many of the best and most distinguished men in every walk of life. We have ample manuscript materials for the biography of one of the circle, and shall append to our sketch of his life brief notices of several of his contemporaries in the same neighbourhood.

In the historical pictures of the battle of Bunker's Hill, there is the figure of a clergyman in bands, and with the usual insignia of his sacred office. The person thus represented was the Rev. Samuel McClintock, D. D., of Greenland, N. H. He was born in Medford, Mass., in 1732. His father was one of the Scotch Irish whom manifold oppression had made twice exiles, and who have given race and name to not a few of the best families in New England. He was graduated at Princeton, in 1751, and was immediately invited by President Burr to a tutorship in his Alma Mater, which he declined, from an unwillingness to postpone his entrance on the profession to which he had consecrated himself from his early boyhood. In 1756 he was ordained at Greenland, a small and obscure country village, to which his chief attraction at first was the unanimous and earnest wish of the people that he should become their pastor; for he was among the most popular divines of his day, and had frequent intimations, both before his settlement and through the earlier half of his ministry, that situations offering much greater worldly advantages were at his disposal.

We have before us two of his printed and the few that remain of his no less than three thousand manuscript sermons, and have been surprised, not only by their general soundness of thought and purity of style, but by their freedom from the lumbering subdivisions, improvement, and application, then almost universal, and their near approach to the simpler models of our own day. A sermon of his, published at a time when an unprecedented drought, a fatal epidemic, and the prospect of war with France, conspired to make the hearts of the people heavy, maintains the thesis, that any direct infliction of Providence is preferable to those

judgments in which God makes the wrath of man his sword, with an affluence and brilliancy of argument and illustration, and a freedom from all theological technicalities, which we had supposed hardly compatible with the rigid pulpit formalism of our elder divines.

His ministry lasted forty-eight years, during which period the last Sunday of his life was the only one on which he was disabled for the performance of his usual public duties. His compensation was three hundred dollars a year, together with the use of a parsonage, and a farm so small as to preclude the employment of much labor other than his own, and that of the numerous "servants born in his house." On this scanty stipend he reared a family of sixteen children, maintained in full the external proprieties of his station in dress and housekeeping, and exercised an unstinted hospitality, — his house lying on the great thoroughfare of Eastern travel, and his professional reputation and his social endowments furnishing either a cause or a pretence for travellers who could proffer the remotest claim upon his notice to make his house their inn. To meet these demands, which with clergymen of the old school stood on the same footing with debts of honor, his strictly personal and domestic expenses were, of course, brought within the narrowest possible limits. The cow, not without large aid from the unfailing well, stood chief foster-mother to the younger members of the household. The errant goose equipped them for their first experiments in penmanship. As fast as garments waxed old, they were rejuvenated in contracted forms for younger and less fastidious wearers. And of the application of the same rigid economy to the father's own habits his manuscripts bear conclusive testimony, — the dozen sermons in our hands hardly covering the paper which we have sometimes devoted to a single discourse. But there was one point on which he was strenuous in effort and in sacrifice, — the education of his children. Through his influence, there was sustained in his parish for many years a permanent school, of a grade corresponding to those elsewhere found only in our populous and compact towns. The teacher was commonly a recent graduate from the University, of worth and promise, attracted to this obscure field of labor by the opportunity which it afforded of familiar intercourse with one so much revered and beloved. Among the young men who in this relation accounted themselves under great obligations to him for

counsel, example, and influence, were Dr. Belknap and Bishop Parker.

Dr. McClintock was regarded among the churches in his vicinity as preëminent for practical wisdom. Difficult questions of advice, cases of casuistry, conscientious scruples, were referred to him as an umpire; and, from the confidence that seems to have been reposed in him in those regards, his decisions must have generally justified themselves to the conscience and the experience of those whom they most intimately concerned. We should be disposed to form the same conclusion from the only one of his numerous written decisions of this kind which has fallen into our hands. The case was one of morbid conscientiousness on the part of a clergyman second in reputation to none in the country. He opened his heart to Dr. McClintock as to the Christian brother better able than any other to stand to him in his Master's stead, and the answer certainly could not be surpassed in faithfulness, tenderness, sound ethical reasoning, and mature religious wisdom. He was also noted for his promptness and pungency in rebuke. Cheerful in his habits of intercourse, and fond of wit and humor when within the bounds of decency and reverence, he had no tolerance for levity or profaneness. One day, overhearing an oath from a man of some distinction, whom he had heard a little while before declaiming against religious ostentation, he said to him, — "What! after what you said the other evening, do I hear you of all men making a parade of piety, and putting up your prayers at the corners of the streets?"

Dr. McClintock, in common with the clergy of New England generally, took a deep interest in the war of the Revolution, and repeatedly served as chaplain to portions of the New Hampshire troops. He had four sons actively engaged in the war. Three of them died before the establishment of peace; the other still lives, in his eighty-seventh year, in unabated vigor of body and mind, and in the full enjoyment of those resources of Christian faith and hope which embalm the heart in perpetual youth.

Except repeated bereavements, which were sustained with the most edifying submission, the only ripple in the smooth current of Dr. McClintock's life was a theological controversy with the Rev. J. C. Ogden, an Episcopal clergyman in Portsmouth, in 1787. Bishop Seabury, in his sermon at the ordination of Mr. Ogden, had broached certain



prelatical notions as to the Apostolic Succession, and the exclusive sanctity of the ritual and administration of his own church, which now are too common to awaken surprise, and too manifestly baseless to admit of a serious counter-argument, but which were then novel and alarming in a region where Episcopacy had long made itself, not repulsive by the arrogance, but amiable by the catholic spirit and the venerable piety of its only clerical representative. Dr. McClintock, in a letter to Mr. Ogden, meekly but firmly contended against the sentiments and postulates of the Bishop's sermon. His argument was met by an angry rejoinder, and when the correspondence reached the public through the press, the scales of victory inclined so manifestly against prelacy, as to dislodge its impetuous advocate from the confidence of his own parishioners, and to lead ultimately to his forcible ejection when he attempted to retain possession of the church in opposition to their unanimous vote.

At the annual Fast in 1804, Dr. McClintock preached as usual ; but on his return to his house, told his family that he had entered the pulpit for the last time. A slight indisposition, under which he was then laboring, increased so rapidly as to terminate his life in eight days. His son and executor found among his father's papers written instructions which bade him destroy all his sermons except the few which he might wish to keep as a memorial of himself. He also requested that "his funeral might be conducted in the manner that was customary among his parishioners, without any sermon, or the parade which has commonly been the custom at the funerals of those who have sustained public characters in life," and that, should a head-stone be placed over his grave, it should be a plain one, with the following epitaph : — "To the memory of Samuel McClintock, D. D., who died —, in the — year of his age, and the — year of his ministry. His body rests here in the certain hope of a resurrection to life and immortality, when Christ shall appear a second time to destroy the last enemy, death, and to consummate the great design of his mediatorial kingdom."

We shall enter into no detail of the equally uneventful, but equally faithful, devoted, and useful lives of the fraternity of pastors of which the venerable man of whom we have spoken was at the time of his decease the senior active member. A few years older, and at that time weighed down by bodily infirmity, was the Rev. Dr. Haven, of Portsmouth, who had

then exceeded his half-century of sanctuary service. Few men have left deeper traces of a spirit radiant with every Christian excellence, than still remain of him in the memory of those who knew him, and in traditions still fresh among those who knew him not. Eminent for vivacity of style, and for powers of oratory which led his partial friends to liken him to Whitefield, oftener called to officiate on important public occasions than almost any man of his day, he prepared still more precious memorials of his ministry by his then unexampled assiduity in pastoral duty. At a period when ministerial etiquette interposed distance, reserve, and pompous formalism between the clergyman and the humbler members of his flock, he assumed at once, and sustained through life, the most intimate relation with the poor and depressed. He knew, week by week, the measure of every scanty meal-barrel and the gauge of every wasting oil-cruise in his parish. From an income never large, and with a family hardly less numerous than filled the Greenland parsonage, he yet found means for a profuse liberality, and, during the straitened period of the Revolutionary struggle, kept himself almost penniless in rescuing those who were utterly so from beggary or starvation. There yet live those who speak of his unwearied kindness as all that stood between them and despair in the days of their early widowhood and desolation.

At his side, as minister of a sister church (between which and his the question of ecclesiastical priority had never been settled, but, after the local quarrel which made them twain had subsided, was waived by mutual consent), was the Rev. Dr. Buckminster, hardly less renowned than his lamented son. Those who heard him preach represent him as of unequalled pungency and power as a pulpit orator. He dealt largely in the "terrors of the Lord," and most of his sermons were in the form of earnest, awful appeals to the impenitent. Subject to periodical attacks of deep gloom, and with a theology by no means of a cheerful cast, he presented a strong contrast with the ministrations of his last-named brother, who confined himself, perhaps, too exclusively to topics of persuasion and motives of love. Yet he, too, knew how to win no less than to awe; and while his majesty of mien repressed familiarity, and conciliated for him reverence as for one almost superhuman, his private and his professional life were full of the fruits of the most unreserved self-sacrifice and overflowing charity. Probably no ministry in New England has been more

successful than his, both as to the outward growth and the religious prosperity and harmony of the flock under his charge.

Next to Portsmouth, "by the way of the sea," is Rye, where the Rev. Huntington Porter, brother of the late Dr. Porter of Roxbury, exercised a quiet and useful ministry for nearly sixty years. A feeble voice and a painful hesitancy in delivery rendered him perhaps the least popular preacher in the Association; but when, as his brother's heir, he had money to pay the printer, his half-century sermon and his farewell address on retiring from his parish apprised the public of the fact, that had always been whispered among the few who had the patience to listen to his lame oratory, that none of his brethren had surpassed him in richness of thought and beauty of style, and that his pen would have enhanced the most brilliant reputation among his coevals. He signalized himself for a long series of years by casting the one Federalist vote which broke the Republican unanimity of the place of his residence.

Just beyond him, at Hampton, the late President Appleton was settled towards the close of the last century. Suffice it to say of him, that it was on the score of reputation gained in that seemingly obscure sphere of duty, that his services were deemed essential to the growth and permanent well-being of the college over which he was chosen to preside.

Next to Hampton is Hampton Falls, why so called no one knows, as, from the evenness of the land and the consequent absence of *falls*, the inhabitants grind their corn in windmills. Here the venerable Paine Wingate, so long the senior graduate on the Harvard catalogue, was ordained as pastor shortly after he left college. His ministry was not of long duration, and he subsequently became distinguished as a politician and a jurist. At the time of his death, there was no one living who remembered him as a preacher; but tradition represents him to have been beyond measure dull and monotonous in his delivery, and there has been handed down a myth, according to which, "once upon a time," while he was administering an evangelical opiate of unusual efficacy, he succumbed himself to its power, and sank in gentle slumber on the pulpit-cushion. The same tradition, however, does ample honor to his excellent spirit and his pure and peaceful life in those days, "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary"; while generations now on the stage remember him as the worthy representative of New Hampshire

in the national Senate during Washington's administration, as a firm and upright judge, and, when he had outlived all power of active duty, as still a meek and humble disciple, calmly awaiting his Master's ascension summons. One fact connected with his ministry deserves record. His manse was the Gretna Green for errant lovers from Massachusetts. Marriages were solemnized in the province of New Hampshire, before the Revolution, without the publication of the bans; and the bridegroom, to publish whose matrimonial plans was to dissipate them, had only to procure through the post-rider a license from Governor Wentworth (who asked no questions when he had the fee in hand), and then to seek with his bride the nearest minister beyond the province lines. We doubt whether the church records of some of our large city parishes present so numerous matrimonial entries from year to year as we have found under Mr. Wingate's hand in the few years of his ministry.

To this same parish of Hampton Falls Dr. Langdon retired, on his resignation of the Presidency of Harvard College. He was in early life the pastor of the North church in Portsmouth, and deemed second to no clergyman of his day in learning, eloquence, and piety. He yielded with the utmost reluctance to the invitation from Cambridge, and soon found cause to repent of his acceptance. His administration was during the stormy season of the Revolutionary war, when probably the college was absolutely ungovernable, on account of the overmastering power of extraneous causes of excitement and turmoil. However that may have been, he resigned his unruly charge after six years' trial, and closed his life as minister at Hampton Falls, bequeathing for the use of his successors in office a curious and valuable library, which still remains in the old parsonage. He was succeeded by the Rev. Jacob Abbot, a ripe scholar, a profound theologian, a highly acceptable preacher, weighty in counsel, and endowed with domestic and social virtues which can never pass away from the respectful and grateful remembrance of those who knew him.

On the New Hampshire side of the Piscataqua, to say nothing of the very respectable ministers of Newington and Durham, Dr. Belknap, as minister of Dover, was contemporary with almost all the clergymen whom we have named, and entered the ministry under the special auspices of Dr. McClintock, as also of Dr. Haven, who preached at his or-



dination. As by the recent publication of the Memoir of Dr. Belknap new and unenviable notoriety has been given to the undoubted fact, that he was absolutely starved out of Dover, it may not be amiss to bear testimony to the rare liberality and zeal now manifested in that same community in the support of religious institutions.

Within the precincts of this Association, also, was the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Barrington, a blind man, of liberal tastes, a highly cultivated intellect, and powers of oratory which rendered him one of the most popular and effective preachers of the day. There yet live many who remember the fervor, energy, and pathos of his pulpit eloquence at threescore years and ten, and his religious earnestness and ardor in the intercourse of private life.

On the Maine side of the Piscataqua, there was, at Kittery-point, the seat of Sir William Pepperell, the Rev. Dr. Stevens (the maternal grandfather of Joseph Stevens Buckminster), of whom the few who can remember him speak with the profoundest admiration and reverence. In another parish of Kittery, the Rev. Paul Litchfield, a Harvard graduate of 1775, closed his half-century of service, and his life, within the familiar recollection of multitudes now living. Finding himself the pastor of a poor flock, able to contribute very little to his maintenance, and principally engaged in fishing, he, too, made the Apostolic calling of a fisherman something more than a pastime, and probably in that capacity received double the revenue which accrued to him as a fisher of men. These habits of toil, assumed of necessity, but continued from choice after he was able to invest in his favorite business a larger capital than any of his parishioners, of course did not suffer him to be a student or an accomplished writer. Indeed, he was wont to complain bitterly of the labor of preparation for the pulpit, saying that he always commenced it early on Saturday evening, and often outsat his family a whole hour. But he was a diligent observer of character, a man of ready wit and retentive memory; and while his own flock deemed themselves losers by his best exchanges, his quaint homilies, full of sturdy good-sense and weighty religious thought, pervaded all the while by a vein of quiet humor and unaffected oddity, made him welcome as an occasional preacher among the most cultivated and fastidious congregations in his neighbourhood.

Just above him on the river, at Elliot, was a man who

needed only a worthy biographer to have rivalled the fame of Oberlin. It was the Rev. Samuel Chandler, a Cambridge graduate of 1790. He, too, found himself among a fishing population, poor, indolent, and thriftless. There was not a garden, or a well-tilled farm, in the town. The people earned just enough from the water to meet their wants on the lowest scale of necessity, and during a large portion of the year lounged, slept, or drank the hours away. The land afforded, at best, only a scanty crop of potatoes, or grass enough to keep the breath of life in the skeletons of their proverbially lean cattle. Mr. Chandler saw at once, that, without a change in the direction of industry, there was no hope of either the physical or moral amelioration of the community. He inclosed and planted for himself a small garden, and commenced raising vegetables for the Portsmouth market. He encouraged his neighbours to do the same, taught them how to dress and till their land to the best advantage, gave them seeds, and rendered them his personal aid in all delicate and difficult horticultural operations. Thus, in a few years, every fisherman's house had its garden for show and use, for taste and revenue, while, through the same skilful advice and superintendence, the effete soil of the small farms in the parish was reclaimed and made productive. The men continued to lead amphibious lives ; but the hardest work could, most of it, be done before the best fishing season opened ; and the charge of preparing vegetables for the market devolved upon the women, who conveyed them to Portsmouth in boats, officiating as their own *oarsmen*, and skirting the eddies and stemming the currents of the rapid Piscataqua with an adroitness worthy the wives of a race of sea-kings. There is still a market in Portsmouth at which these merwomen preside, and we know not where to look for evidences of more universal comfort and prosperity than are to be found among their homes. But while their good pastor wrought this revolution in their outward estate, he was not less diligent in his "cure of souls." He led his people on to a high standard (considering what they had been) of intelligence and religious character. He was their sole lawyer and judge, leaving no quarrel unreconciled, and plucking up all roots of bitterness before they had time to grow. He retained his scholarly habits, was deemed a sound theologian and a highly edifying preacher. The gratitude and devotion of his people knew no bounds. During his last sickness, his

doors were perpetually besieged by crowds, and a brother minister, who visited him, told us, that, had they all been his children, they could not have manifested deeper solicitude, or more poignant grief when the last ray of hope had faded ; and now, after an interval of twenty years, it is affecting to mark the tenderness with which they speak his name and tell the unfailing story of his kindness and his excellence.

Did our limits permit, we might add to our catalogue of worthies Lyman of York, the ancestor of the families of that name so well known in this city, — Langton, in another parish of York, a man of a singularly pure and gentle spirit, — Miltimore of Stratham, afterwards a highly esteemed pastor in Newbury, Mass., — and others not less valued for talents and virtues, who needed only a more conspicuous theatre to have given them names which would not have been, as now, the exclusive property of local tradition and minute antiquarianism.\*

The Piscataqua Association embraced twenty-two churches. Its members were not content with the social enjoyment and personal improvement that attended their meetings, but were constantly devising liberal counsels for the benefit of the Christian public at large. The manual of family devotion named at the head of this article was their joint work, and is believed to be the first publication of the kind that issued from the American press. Reprinted almost without change, it would compare advantageously (except in bulk, and we should not be disposed to admit even that exception) with the best similar works of the kind now in current use. They established also the "Piscataqua Evangelical Maga-

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\* Just beyond the territorial limits of this Association, but virtually belonging to it by his habits of the closest intimacy with its members, was Rev. Dr. Hemmenway, for more than half a century the minister of Wells, Me. He was generally regarded as the most learned and profound divine in New England, as to theological dogmatics and metaphysics. He published a great deal on controverted topics, and was deemed the chief champion of old-fashioned Calvinism against Arminianism on the one hand, and Hopkinsianism on the other. Dr. Buckminster, in preaching his funeral sermon, applies to him the cavil against St. Paul, that "his bodily presence was mean and his speech contemptible"; and, among many similar anecdotes, it is related, that, on one occasion, the members of Dr. Buckminster's own family, not recognizing the angel of the church in Wells, in a guise most unclerically shabby, sent him into the kitchen to await his friend's return. His sermons are said to have been hard to hear and to understand; but his devotional exercises were fervent and edifying, his pastoral duties were most assiduously and lovingly discharged, and his ministry was regarded as eminently successful and prosperous.

zine," issued once in two months, which was, as we suppose, the earliest religious periodical on this side of the Atlantic, and which, to say the least, is in no respect inferior to the "Christian Disciple" for the first few years of its existence, and in its uniformly mild, gentle, and catholic spirit, and its elevation of practical Christianity above matters of doubtful disputation, presents the broadest possible contrast to the "Panoplist." They formed, too, the Piscataqua Missionary Society, for the aid of destitute churches within and beyond their limits, at a period when domestic missions had received very little attention in any of our churches, and some years prior to any other missionary organization of equal extent and efficiency.

These good men solved in practice a problem to which we have lost the key, that of harmony of spirit and cordial cooperation among ministers of widely differing creeds. McClintock, Buckminster, Stevens, and Langton were Calvinists, yet with none of the asperities of Calvinism. Belknap and Porter were professed Arminians. Haven and Lyman were also Arminians, and both were known to sympathize strongly with Chauncy in his scheme of Restorationism. Litchfield, Chandler, Abbot, and the late Dr. Parker, who was a member of the Association till 1820, made no secret of their rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity. Yet they lived together in the most fraternal union, and no note of discord ever broke in upon their deliberations. We are told that these points of difference were openly avowed and freely discussed at their meetings; but they felt that they had in common a broad ground of faith and field of effort, in which they could be each other's helpers, and that their varying interpretations of matters not necessarily involving the claims of Christian duty were not sufficient to break their bond of loving fellowship.

Do our readers ask the present condition of the parishes once so highly favored? So long as the exclusive spirit was held in check, and the influence of the united body of pastors was felt in every flock, most of these parishes remained undivided and prosperous. But so soon as the brotherhood was broken, and the reputed heretics were set aside by the self-styled Orthodox, marks of decline and decay became visible throughout the whole region. The two Portsmouth parishes, and those at Dover and Exeter, from the necessity of their situation, are still strong and flourishing; but it is believed that these are the only ones within the old limits of the



Association that were not essentially enfeebled in consequence of the intrusion of sectarianism. Some of them are utterly extinct, the old spires still towering over churches that have become shattered and untenable ruins. Others, shorn of three fourths of their former strength, number as many pastors as years, and keep a new minister only long enough for him "to see the nakedness of the land." A few retain a somewhat more vigorous, yet still a spasmodic and flickering vitality. In Hampton Falls, a little remnant, retaining more of the characteristics of an old New England country parish than we can elsewhere find, in union with a similarly small and feeble remnant in an adjoining town, not without generous aid from abroad, sustain the institutions of the Gospel under Liberal ministrations. In all these parishes, there are still those who bear regretful memory of better days, and would gladly do their utmost to sustain forms of religious worship and instruction which would not exclude them from the altar and their children from the baptismal font. We doubt whether there is a region of like extent in New England on which Calvinism has so feeble a hold. Indifference and irreligion have, indeed, made fearful progress in some portions of this territory ; but a large part of the responsibility for these evils must needs rest upon the system of things, unknown to an earlier generation, by which no indulgence is shown to honest difference, and a Procrustean creed is made the only standard of piety. It is a field in which Christians of liberal opinions are so much scattered, nay, are so sadly thinned by death, and their places supplied by those whom the division and desolation of the churches have nurtured in indifference, that we can hardly hope at present for the establishment to any extent of such ministrations as we deem most accordant with the simplicity of the Gospel. Meanwhile the Methodists, and the more liberal sects of Baptists, are doing much, and, we trust, will be enabled to do much more, towards "building the old wastes, and raising up the former desolations."

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*A. P. P.*

## ART. VII. — CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT MISSIONS.\*

WHATEVER may be thought of the character of Christians, and the success or failure of their efforts to carry forward their religion to the fulfilment of its predictions, there can be but one opinion of the magnitude of the work, or the vast amount of life and treasure devoted to its accomplishment. We are apt to mourn, if not to murmur, at the apathy of Christ's followers, their selfishness and sloth, their unfaithfulness to the Master and distance from the mark, the narrow limits of the kingdom and the exceeding slowness of its advance. And reason enough is there for sorrow and humiliation; imperfection, inconsistency, and wickedness enough is there within the kingdom itself, so called, within the very pale of the Church, in the hearts and lives of avowed disciples. Looking at the religion as it stands in its record and its Lord, looking at the commission given and the object proposed, the powers and means possessed, yet the little absolutely accomplished, the view is dark, the thought oppressive. We wonder not that those "of little faith" stumble, that those of no faith cavil, or that impatient believers look round for some new agencies, a new order of society, or a different administration of religion. It is easy, by fixing the mind on failure and evil alone, to work ourselves up to any degree of disappointment or despondency. But is this a Christian view? Is it reasonable, in consideration of our nature, the nature of the work, the providence of God, or the actual results already seen? Even if these results were far less distinct and beneficent than they

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\* 1. *Oregon Missions, and Travels over the Rocky Mountains, in 1845*, 46. By Father P. J. DE SMET, of the Society of Jesus. New York: Edward Dunigan. 1847. 12mo. pp. 408.

2. *The United States Catholic Magazine, and Monthly Review*. The official organ of the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Right Rev. Bishop of Richmond; and published with the approbation of the Right Rev. Bishops of the United States. Edited by Rev. CHARLES I. WHITE, D. D., Baltimore, and V. Rev. M. J. SPALDING, D. D., Louisville. 1847. 8vo.

3. *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Civil, Religious, and Political History of those Islands*. By HIRAM BINGHAM, A. M., Member of the American Oriental Society, and late Missionary of the American Board. Hartford and New York. 1847. 8vo. pp. 616.

\* 4. *Memoir of William G. Crocker, late Missionary in West Africa among the Bassas, including a History of the Bassa Mission*. By R. B. MEDBERY, Newburyport, Ms. Boston. 1848. 18mo. pp. 300.

5. *Memoir of Sarah B. Judson, Member of the American Mission to Burmah*. By "FANNY FORESTER." New York. 1848. 18mo. pp. 250.

are, and though it be said that they are not yet tested and by many are disputed, we would still maintain that the efforts themselves, the zeal, the liberality, the self-sacrifice, the unwearied and constantly extended enterprise, in the grand work of converting the world to Christ, are evidence of strong faith, and must bring a blessing to their authors, if to no others.

Our attention is called to the subject now by the simultaneous appearance of many publications, Catholic and Protestant, touching every portion of the vast missionary field, and suggesting as well as answering many inquiries as to veritable facts and positive results. The works whose titles we have given make but a small part of those recently published of similar character. And not only works which treat directly and exclusively of missions, but books of travels, of scientific research, of general literature, biography, and fiction, have entered this province to a greater or less degree, and thrown light upon many of the most interesting points. Among these might be mentioned the five large volumes of the "United States Exploring Expedition," and the lighter productions of Melville, to both of which we shall have occasion to refer. It is rather singular that the last named works, "Typee" and "Omoo," whose character, as fact or fiction, has been a matter of question, are taken up by the Catholics as authority, and made the groundwork of a new attack upon Protestant missions. At the same time, the Catholics themselves are making new efforts, and sending out new publications and professions, with reference to the propagation of their faith in this country and abroad. Not attempting to go over the whole field, nor wishing to take sides in the controversy, we propose to give some idea of the facts of the case, as they stand in the publications themselves, and to refresh our own, possibly our readers', acquaintance with the extent and progress of the great missionary enterprise.

The history of modern missions, we suppose, may be confined within the last three hundred years. It was in the year 1534 that Loyola induced Xavier, with four others, to take the vows of poverty and chastity, resolving upon a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre, and then the entire devotion of themselves to the conversion of infidels. When John III., of Portugal, a few years after, applied to Loyola for a missionary who should convert his subjects in India, Xavier was ordained for that great work. The zeal and success with which he devoted himself to the work for ten years, at Goa,

Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin, and Japan, baptizing, as Bourdaloue says, "a million of pagans," who are reported to have all remained faithful, and ending his life just as he was about to carry his faith into China, are well known. The miracles ascribed to him, we observe, are still maintained, even by as sober writers as Dr. Wiseman, who, in his volume of Lectures recently published, labors to show that the "Catholic Rule of Faith," for the conversion of the heathen, has always been sustained by the special favor of God, and the "Protestant Rule" as invariably proved to be false and futile. This singular assumption, put forth as a matter of fact as well as faith, we shall presently consider. In 1622, nearly a century after the mission of Xavier, the "Congregation of the Propaganda" was founded at Rome, by Gregory XV., followed by a similar "College for Chinese" at Naples. We are surprised to see the statement of Wiseman, — a statement not sustained by all writers, — that the missionaries educated and sent out by the Propaganda do not amount to ten in a year. He insists, also, that the common opinion of the great wealth of this institution is wholly erroneous; pronouncing it poorer than many of the missionary societies in England, its annual income not reaching £30,000, out of which the expense of educating over a hundred individuals has to be defrayed, before any part is used for other purposes. Be this as it may, we find the followers of Loyola, those world-renowned missionaries, increasing in sixty years from ten members to ten thousand; and at the beginning of the last century, about the time of the first organized efforts by Protestants for sending the Gospel into "foreign parts," the association of Jesuits numbered twenty thousand sworn adherents and devoted agents. And if devotion and discipline, if absolute subjection and prompt obedience to a system of rules religiously despotic, if unwearied toil and unshrinking self-sacrifice, if piety seemingly as devout and tried as any can be, with a policy which chose for its motto the Apostle's words, freely interpreted, — *Omnia omnibus*, — if these were all that is wanted for the furtherance of the Gospel throughout the earth, it would seem sure to be accomplished by the "Society of Jesus." Much was accomplished, and in nearly every part of the earth, civilized and savage. Though Xavier was permitted only to get a glimpse of the vast empire of China, which his soul burned to possess, his immediate successors, Ricci, Scholl, and others, soon passed the barrier,



overcame all obstacles, and by their varied learning, ready tact, and untiring perseverance, advanced by degrees even to the high places of power, finding a disciple in the Empress herself, and in the Emperor an open patron. Nor in China only. Their missionaries and stations were soon found in Persia and Syria, in Egypt, Morocco, Mozambique, and Abyssinia; one of their order, in the last-named country, being actually made patriarch of the national church for a time, though soon deposed for his abuse of power, and driven away, with all his followers.

To this fact, the want of permanence in the Jesuit stations, and the early and total exclusion of the order from places where they seemed strongly established, we would direct attention. It is a remark of Kip, the writer of "Early Jesuit Missions in North America," noticed in this journal the last year,\* that "there is not a recorded instance of their permanency, or their spreading each generation wider and deeper, like our own missions in India." If this be so, it is a more singular and instructive fact than the first power and rapid progress of these propagandists. In their power and progress we see no miracle or marvel. No form of religion can we conceive better calculated to strike the imagination and impress the senses, especially of the heathen devotee or the superstitious savage. Nor does this fact itself prove a corrupt faith or an unworthy motive. It results from a principle of our nature, and is seen in the educated as well as the ignorant. The power of the Romish faith is not to be ascribed to ignorance, in priest or populace. No faith has intrenched itself more in college and seminary of every grade. None has contributed more to the acquisition or preservation of learning. Not in the Dark Ages alone, but in the revival of letters and religion, the Catholics were always ready to use every advantage given them by a decline of interest or energy in Protestant education. To this, indeed, does Ranke ascribe the check of the Reformation, and its partial retrogression; a consideration to be well weighed by those who wonder at the alleged progress of Romanism at the present moment. Compare the time and cost of an education for the Catholic priesthood now with the easy terms and meagre qualifications by which almost any one may enter the Protestant ministry, with the entire absence, indeed, and the continued disparagement, of education, in many classes of Protestants, and, what

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\* *Christian Examiner* for May, 1847, p. 360.

is far worse, the diminished, rather than increased, importance attached to a learned ministry, by some who have encouraged and required it most. Compare the efforts now made by Catholics in the vast new domains of our own country, their institutions of learning, their large benefactions, and complete organization, with the almost total neglect of these among Christians who profess to rely most on reason, intelligence, and free inquiry. The fact is indisputable, that the Catholic Church of all periods has exceeded every other in its faithful education of the young ; with the added distinction, and wise policy, of extending education to doctrines and morals, as well as mind. And this is one simple explanation of its success.

There are other explanations, some of which seem to us to account for success at first, and also for the want of permanence of which we have spoken. One of these is to be found in the nature and seal of conversion with the Catholic. It is nearly all comprised in baptism. Not only is this the regenerating ordinance, but it is one for which very little preparation is necessary. We now speak only of missions, and we take the accounts of the missionaries themselves. Here is a volume before us, the first named at the head of this article, giving the latest accounts of their missions on our own continent. It is a beautiful volume of more than four hundred pages, from the pen of one of the Society of Jesus, a man evidently of deep and disinterested piety, who, with a few fellow-laborers, devotes two years to the hard task of converting the wild tribes who roam over the vast Oregon territory. This territory, about seven hundred and fifty miles in length, and five hundred broad, his Holiness, Gregory XVI., as we are here told, "on the first of December, 1843, erected into an apostolic vicariate," afterwards divided into eight dioceses. There is something ludicrous, we cannot refrain from saying, in this idea of a man in Rome, called a pope, marking off, on a given day, an immense portion of the American continent as his spiritual property, and giving it in charge to his appointed ministers. And yet, however strange, such appropriation rises into moral grandeur and Christian glory, compared with the former mode of planting the standard of conquest upon the new territory, and subjecting its original occupants to servitude or the sword. Only offers of love and tidings of joy does Father De Smet bear to the aborigines. He finds

among them a few obscure traditions, but no forms of religion, and scarcely any trace of worship. He endures privations and hardships, exposes himself to great dangers, establishes three colleges and eighteen chapels, is joined by twenty-five other ministers and missionaries, most of them of the order of Jesuits, and, out of the one hundred and ten thousand Oregon Indians, reports, in a short time, "upwards of six thousand converted to the true faith."

Now, without meaning to derogate from the spiritual value of this mission, of which no man can judge, and without raising a question in regard to motives, we look at the mode of measuring results. And the principal mode, unquestionably, is the outward administration of baptism. This is constantly spoken of in these pages as the act of regeneration, and was evidently regarded by the proselytes, if not by the priests, as all-sufficient. A chief says to one of the missionaries : — "If the sacred water will cause us to see the Great Master after death, baptize all our camp ; perform this charity, for they nearly all die." In this instance, the missionary, Bolduc, was engaged from morning to night in baptizing, and then says, — "The new Christians numbered one hundred and ten." And still this same man closes his report by the candid confession : — "If, to be a Christian, it were but necessary to know some prayers and sing canticles, there is not one among them who would not adopt the title ; but a capital point still to be gained is a reformation of morals. As soon as we touch this chord, their ardor is changed into indifference." This is as true of the civilized as of the savage ; true, and often seen, among all Christians. And yet Christian teachers, Catholic and Protestant, insist far less upon "a reformation of morals" than upon doctrines and forms. This inconsistency is most glaring, and the evil must be greatest among ignorant and debased heathen. But we see no evidence that the inconsistency is avoided there, or the evil guarded against. On the contrary, they seem more common and palpable there than in any other connection, particularly in these Oregon missions. The assurance is given, that "they were regenerated in the holy waters of baptism," — that "thousands of beads were offered up to God and his august mother," — that "the sign of the cross was made by the young and dying children." Miracle, likewise, is said to be wrought in the gift of spiritual and temporal blessings, — "three hundred deer be-

coming the prey of the hunters in one day," because of the burning of their idolatrous images. But little is told of moral renovation or permanent good, and the want of these is frankly confessed. Some encouraging changes are recorded, and an impression has been evidently made upon the Indians generally, in favor both of the character of the missionaries and the superiority of the Christian religion; which is more than can always be said of either Catholic or Protestant missions.

An acknowledgment is here to be made, and we make it gladly. In none of the recent reports of Catholic labors for the propagation of the Gospel do we see that principle or practice of vicious "accommodation," so common in the earlier missions, especially the Jesuit. With the revival of the order from its decline and dissolution, we hope that this, its worst feature, will not revive. Though no Christians, we fear, can boast entire exemption from like weakness and error, there is too much reason for the common opinion which makes Jesuitism almost synonymous with the odious maxim, "The end sanctifies the means." Against Loyola and Xavier we are not aware that the charge has been brought, or can be justly. But if history may be trusted, those of their order who first entered China conformed to the dress and habits of the native priests, in a way that expressed neither principle nor wisdom, and had soon to be abandoned. They are said to have allowed their converts to continue their worship of Confucius, provided they concealed upon the altar a crucifix as the object of their secret homage. The Romanists themselves, at home, accused these missionaries of preaching Christ glorified only, keeping out of sight and out of the way the offence of Christ crucified. Grosser forms of prevarication, and abominable acts of conformity, are charged upon the missionaries in India, and also in South America; some of them hard to be believed, yet fully authorized by many of the permissions of mental reservation found in the books of the order. Do not these things go far to explain, at once, their early and rapid success, and their equally signal decline, — in some cases, their total banishment from countries which they had begun to claim as their own? The terrible persecution which drove them utterly from Japan, dooming thousands to the most dreadful deaths, and closing the country against all approach of Christian teachers ever since, — their expulsion from South America, where they had toiled and suffered



with heroic constancy, often unto death, — their loss of power in China, denounced by the government that at first cherished them, and compelled to work in secret for a time, — their suppression even in Spain, Portugal, and France, where they received some of the deadliest thrusts in the house of their friends, — and the final extinction of the order by the edict of sovereign power at Rome, — are to be ascribed in part, no doubt, to political causes, but still more to moral. The political involved the moral. Lust of power and gain, petty traffic, low cunning, bold casuistry, and frequent licentiousness, present a sad contrast to the conduct and character of the founder of the Jesuits, and his first associates. We behold with admiration the fortitude of the early Iroquois martyrs, and the beautiful purity and fidelity of Catherine, the Iroquois saint, bearing witness to the faith and power of Loyola in our own savage wilderness. But we are strangely confounded, when we read that the Iroquois converts stipulated, in a treaty of peace in 1682, for the removal of those licentious brethren, the Jesuits, “who did every thing that Jesus did not do.” Facts like these (allowing for probable exaggeration) ought at least to moderate the pretensions of Romanists, and check their constant insinuations and open assaults on the best Protestant missions, in reference to moral character and actual results.

To Protestant missions we now turn. Their extent, their effects, the zeal that has moved, and the sacrifice that has attended them, have commonly been placed far below those of the Catholic Church. The latter, it may be, have not been overrated. But the former, we are sure, have been underrated. Any thing like an exact comparison is as useless as it is difficult. We do not attempt it. We desire only to be just. And we fear we have not been just, as a general fact, either to the missionary cause itself, or the character and result of Protestant efforts.

The period of these missions covers the last century and a half. The first “Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts” was formed in London, in 1701, and at the last account we have seen, had about three hundred stations, and two hundred and fifty ordained missionaries, in India, Africa, and Australia. The Society in Scotland for “Propagating Christian Knowledge” was instituted in 1709, but the extent of its operations we do not learn. In 1741, the “United Brethren,” or Moravians, began their

noble enterprise, their entire congregation not then exceeding six hundred persons ; yet in ten years, their heralds were found in Greenland, St. Croix, Surinam, and Rio de Berbice ; in Lapland, Tartary, Algiers, Guinea, and Ceylon ; among the Indians of North America, and the negroes of South Carolina ; and now they are all over the world, counting two hundred and eighty-two missionaries, and sixty-five thousand converts. The Wesleyan Methodists, virtually a society of missionaries always, in 1786 extended their operations to the West Indies, and now are employing about three hundred and seventy laborers, in Europe, Africa, and North America, sending out the Scriptures in fourteen languages. The English " Baptist Missionary Society," organized in 1792, has over seventy missionaries in India, Africa, and the West Indies, issuing the Bible in forty languages, and numbering thirty thousand communicants. In 1795, the " London Missionary Society " was formed, intended to comprise all denominations, and sending agents to all parts of the world. In 1801, the " Church Missionary Society " arose in England, and sustains at this time about a hundred preachers, in the East, Africa, and America, dispensing tracts and the Scriptures in fifteen languages. These are the leading societies abroad, though others might be named among the French Protestants and German Evangelicals.

In America, Brainerd entered the field as early as 1743, followed by other devoted laborers, until, in 1810, the " American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions " was organized in Boston ; their Report of the last year gives one hundred and forty ordained missionaries, with one hundred and ninety-three female helpers, and various other laborers, at ninety-six different stations ; their churches contain twenty-five thousand four hundred and forty-one members ; and they issue the Scriptures and various tracts in thirty languages. The " American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions " was formed in 1814, and has over eighty principal stations, and three thousand communicants. The " American Episcopal Society " was instituted in 1820, the " American Episcopal Methodist " about the same time, and the " American Presbyterian " in 1831 ; and have planted their agencies in India, China, Greece, Africa, North and South America, and other parts, to a greater extent than can easily be stated. In all, there are in Great Britain and America seven very large, and seven small missionary asso-

ciations, employing at present about fifteen hundred preachers and teachers, at twelve hundred central stations, in various parts of the world. These missions together report one hundred and eighty thousand converts in Christian communion, and two hundred thousand children and adults belonging to their schools. The annual income of all the associations together amounts to about £505,000, of which four fifths are contributed by British Christians, and one fifth by American. For these facts and figures we rely mainly on Harris's "Great Commission"; and though they do not profess to be more than approximations to the exact truth, they are believed to be sufficiently accurate to give a just idea of the means and magnitude of Protestant missions. They show that Protestants are not indifferent to the worth of their religion, nor open to the charge of apathy and entire selfishness in regard to the duty of carrying it to "all nations." We think it can also be shown that their labors and benefactions are not utterly wasted.

This is the great vital question in regard to missions, — Are they fruitless? Wholly fruitless we know they are not. But how far are they productive of that at which they aim? What proportion do their substantial, spiritual results bear to the immense expenditure of time, strength, wealth, life, and the means of doing good in other ways? It is a fair question, and one of which the friends and supporters of missions should never complain. They do not complain of it, we believe, when put in the right temper. There is a spirit of questioning and of cavil, of infidelity and calumny, of which they have reason to complain. There are imputations of motive and misrepresentations of fact, exaggerations of fault and failure, and sometimes gross allegations, which must be ascribed to one of two causes, — a very partial knowledge of the state of the case, or the loss of gainful traffic and sensual indulgence, to which all missionary efforts and advancement are opposed. We are perplexed, but not surprised, by the conflicting statements as to actual results. Not only have men very different rules by which to measure religious results, but they have also different eyes and ears, different powers of observation, depending upon mental and moral culture, interest, opportunity, prepossession, and inclination. Who is surprised at the unfavorable account which the crew of a whaleman or merchantman may give of the state of an island in the Pacific, where before they have

always found a ready market for their rum, an easy exchange of toys for food or treasure, and facilities for all manner of license, — none of which can they now obtain, because of the influence of the missionaries? Who would trust the impressions or the statements of a man, acting like Percival at Honolulu, in 1826, intimidating the native chiefs into a repeal of the law which prohibited women from visiting the ships in the harbour, and obtaining by force of arms the indulgence of the basest passions? There are men whose opposition to missions is so natural, as to be less surprising than would be their approbation.

But while great allowance is made for these influences, some must be made for the opposite. The friends, as well as the enemies, of missions may be blinded by prepossession, and be too credulous of all that favors them. To one danger particularly are they exposed; that of judging of success too hastily, and then setting a single instance of success against all known or possible failure. One soul, it is said, is of more value than millions of money, or thousands of mortal lives. True; but does it follow that the money and the lives should be expended on a single soul, if they could be made, in some other way, to secure the salvation of many souls? We are bound not only to act for a good end, but to use the best means. We are accountable for the best possible use of all the treasure, opportunity, and power of every kind, committed to us by God or man. If the time and means employed in the conversion of one heathen abroad would probably, almost certainly, convert ten at home, there may be a question of duty with the most devout and self-sacrificing Christian. A question, we say; for with us it is not decisive. It is still possible that that one conversion abroad may do more good than the ten at home; while it is certain that the ten at home *might* be secured without the loss of the one abroad. We do not see that foreign missions need to exclude domestic, or that they actually do; for those who are most generous for the former are usually most generous also for the latter. Nor do we often discover a special interest in any kind of religious action, where there is total indifference to the momentous duty of regenerating and evangelizing the world. And yet, we must own, it is difficult to feel *assured* that this immense expenditure of life and treasure in distant and doubtful enterprise is authorized by the unquestionable spiritual results. In cases



where life is all but sure to be sacrificed, from climate, hardship, or hostility, and where lives have been sacrificed repeatedly, we could not feel authorized to expose either ourselves or others. It is not a question of willingness to die, but of duty to live. It is not the weighing of souls against suffering or selfishness, but the weighing of our power and responsibility for the salvation of souls. We do not wonder, that, in regard to African missions, for example, the Baptist Board here refuse to urge or even advise any one to go, unless inwardly and irresistibly impelled. When we read such accounts of the "Bassa Mission" as are given in the excellent Memoir of Crocker before us, and follow in him one of the noble apostles who have fought and fallen in that pestilential clime, — when we witness the sufferings of his devoted wife, whose death he records in the same letter that tells of their marriage, — when we turn to Burmah, another sphere of peril, and read the affecting biography of the second Mrs. Judson, written by still another, offering herself in the same sacrifice and service of their faith, — tender women, forsaking all and bearing all for Christ and the heathen, subject to every privation, enduring the greatest hardships, bringing children into life only to lay them in the dust, following their husbands everywhere to bury or leave them alone, or, again, doomed to weep and mourn over the seemingly small result of all their toil and trial, how can we help asking whether this is indeed the end to which Christ and God, nature, family, and destiny, call them? And yet, again, we are moved to exclaim, — "Better, infinitely better, thus to live and die, than to live for nothing, and be dead in sin! Who would not rather see a wife, sister, or daughter thus toiling, suffering, and dying, for the soul and eternity, than see them, like so many of the fair and accomplished around us, unconscious of the purpose of life and its accountableness, creatures of frivolity, slaves of fashion, or worse degradation?"

To judge of the effect of missions, we must take a single field, as a complete survey is impracticable. And the most definite field is that of the Sandwich Islands. It is also a fair test, both from the time that the experiment has taken, and the difficulties it has had to encounter. More, too, has been written on this than on any other. The works of Stewart, Ellis, Jarves, and Dibble are known. Yet the last may not be familiar to our readers, and should be here no-

ticed, because it was published by the press of the "Mission Seminary," at Lahainaluna, and is a well-printed volume of nearly five hundred pages, written by one who had lived there several years as a teacher. It is an interesting volume, — more, however, from its subject-matter than from its literary merits ; and it seems to us not wholly to have avoided the error, to which most of these works incline, of partiality and a kind of one-sidedness. The most free from this of any we have read is the new and large book of Hiram Bingham ; larger than any that preceded it, and larger than it ought to be. Its arrangement and execution have disappointed us. It lacks animation, and is sometimes heavy. Yet it contains a vast amount of information ; it comes from a man not only acquainted, but connected, with the whole history of the Mission ; and all he writes, and all we know of him, incline us to respect and trust him. He writes modestly, with every opportunity of knowledge, and with the appearance of perfect fairness. His devotion and disinterestedness have been abundantly proved. After twenty-one years of arduous toil, with exposure, obstacles, and perils of various kinds, he comes home in actual indigence (not that he says it, but that we know it, and think it should be said in reply to charges often brought against missionaries), writes this large book while he remains to watch the decline of her who has shared all his labors, and now that she has just been transferred to a higher sphere, turns his wiseful eyes toward his far-off home in the ocean. That home, since he first saw it, has been totally changed ; and even if the triumph of pure religion there could be disputed, the presence and power of social, civil, and moral renovation are beyond question. From this volume, and several others, we offer a condensed view of the material facts.

The first company of missionaries, consisting of Rev. Asa Thurston and Rev. Hiram Bingham, with five teachers and helpers, their wives, and three native youths from the islands, who had been partially educated here, sailed from Boston, October 23d, 1819. These fourteen pioneers, of whom six of the women and four men still live, arrived at the Hawaiian Islands on the 30th of March, 1820 ; and to their unutterable surprise and gratitude, found that the way had been signally prepared for their reception. Explain it as we may, the fact will always remain prominent and remarkable, that during this first approach of the heralds of the

Gospel, the last battle for idolatry was fought by the very people to whom they were going, the defenders of idols were vanquished, and the defeated and now despised gods thrown into the sea, or cast "to the bats and the moles." Not that Christianity had done this, for it was scarcely known there. Cook, who in 1778 madly provoked his own death, left no favorable impression of the Christian character. Vancouver, in 1792, produced a far more agreeable and beneficial effect, but died too soon to make it permanent. It had, however, with other causes, awakened the islanders to some sense of the intolerable civil and religious despotism in which they were living under the power of the "tabu"; a word meaning *sacred*,\* and defining a system of superstition and law, by which every thing to which the word was attached was forbidden to be used by any but the gods, the priests, or the rulers, death being the penalty of the slightest infraction. Recently, owing perhaps to the example and growing influence of foreigners, the law had been violated by some natives of distinction, and the act, not being visited by the expected vengeance of the gods, led to other violations, and soon to open defiance. Then parties were formed under the opposite champions of idolatry and liberty, war ensued, victory rested with the daring innovators, and the reign of the "forty thousand deities," which they had so long worshipped and feared, was over. The first sounds that greeted Bingham and his associates, from the new shores which they had come to enlighten, were these: — "Kamehameha is dead, — his son Liholiho is king, — the tabus are abolished, — the images are destroyed."

And what was now the moral condition of the 130,000 souls who composed this island-nation? A condition not only of heathenism, but of atheism. The only religion they had known was demolished, and they were left to their own imaginations and passions. Superstition of the worst kind, the grossest ignorance, unrestrained selfishness, cruelty to the feeble and the aged, frequent infanticide, cannibalism in war, polygamy, obscenity, theft, drunkenness, and frightful licentiousness, had always reigned there until civilized man came among them; and even he had aggravated some of their worst vices, and introduced others, by his avarice, fraud, and lust.

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\* The Hebrew word *corban*, as found in our New Testament, though not of exactly the same import as *tabu*, has a striking resemblance.

In reading the accounts of their moral state, we are constantly reminded of Paul's description of heathenism in the opening of his Epistle to the Romans. Had he written it for the inhabitants of these islands before the introduction of Christianity, it would have been none too strong. And this is always to be remembered, in any estimate made of the effect of missions. To lift a nation up from such depths of degradation is an immense work. To be allowed to work at all, to gain an entrance, and begin to exert a moral influence, is a great deal. And most unreasonable is it, nay, preposterous, to expect that a few men and women, in a few years, will bring a whole people from the lowest ignorance, lawlessness, and pollution, to the character and condition of a Christian community. Let all consider it, who find it difficult to make Christians even of those that have been born in the light, educated in the knowledge, and surrounded by the institutions of this religion. Have we done justice to the missionary labor, in this or in any part of the heathen world? When the wife of a faithful missionary, returning home after many years of arduous toil abroad, was asked if she enjoyed as much in her communion with converts there as here, or anticipated as much in the thought of going back to them, she well replied, that such a question ought not to be asked; for none of us could conceive of the difference between the native heathen and the native Christian. We feel the justice of such reproof, when we reflect upon our own blessings and our abuse of them. And when we call to mind the hundreds of years consumed in raising the island of Great Britain from the barbarism in which civilization and Christianity first found it, to its present condition, so imperfect still, so oppressed by social evils, and darkened by moral problems, we are not prepared to expect, or very patient with those who demand, that, in one quarter of a century, a small company of Christian laborers shall have wrought the complete renovation of nations of idolaters in the Pacific Ocean.

What have they accomplished? Where the art of reading was wholly unknown, not a syllable of written language in existence, or any knowledge of arithmetic or geography beyond the rudest elements, a regular alphabet has been formed, reading and writing have become common, schools have been opened in every district, school-books of every kind have been prepared and published in the native tongue, several printing-presses have been set up and are kept in operation chiefly by



natives who have been taught to print and bind, newspapers are regularly issued and well supported, and besides many other publications, secular and religious, more than fifty thousand Testaments in different editions, and the entire Bible, in two editions of ten thousand each, have been sent forth from the mission-press. The appearance of their Bibles, which may be seen at the Mission House in Boston, does credit to the taste as well as progress of the native workmen. It was said ten years ago, — "The aggregate of printing in the native language, done by and for the mission for the whole period, amounts to about sixty-three millions of pages." The number of readers in the nation, at that time, was computed at twenty-three thousand, and the largest number of children in the schools at any one period, fifty thousand. The number now is less than half that, as a sad depopulation seems to be going on in the islands. But the facts show us, that a good work has been begun in a right way, and that a door is open for the introduction of all the arts of civilized life. Many of these are already known, in the use of iron, furniture, and clothing, in the structure of the houses, and the improvement of manners. It is acknowledged, however, by the missionaries, that progress in civilization is slower than in morals and religion; an instructive fact, to be ascribed perhaps to the inveterate power of indolence and recklessness in a heathen state.

The moral improvement is decided. Its exact extent it is impossible to determine. Statements do not all accord; indeed, they are often directly opposed. To the assertions of neither side do we yield unqualified credence. But one material fact we deduce from all reading and all inquiry; namely, that while the most unfavorable accounts are usually found in suspicious connections either of interest or ignorance, the favoring accounts are sustained, not only by all the missionaries, but also by many impartial witnesses. Such, with slight qualification, we consider Jarves to have been. Visiting the islands only for health and recreation, of a different sect from the missionaries there, and going with strong prejudices against them as partisans and self-seekers, a residence of four years not only removed those prejudices, but led him to speak in most decided terms of the social, civil, intellectual, and moral elevation of the natives. His description of the changes in government, commerce, the mechanical arts, and the common habits of life, is at once temperate and encourag-

ing ; and still more encouraging, his account of the observance of the Sabbath, the support of religious worship, "the interest in religious instruction, and a standard of morality, rapidly improving." Another impartial and important witness is Lieutenant Wilkes, commander of the "United States Exploring Expedition." An accomplished and high-minded man, a member of the American Philosophical Society, in search only of truth and fact, he had an opportunity, for seventy days, of seeing the islands, and knowing the missionaries and people. His account fills a large place in his voluminous "Narrative," and is of the kind that inspires most confidence. He gives in full the code of laws and the written constitution adopted by the native government in 1840, showing an immense stride from barbarism, and establishing the claim of the "Hawaiian Group" to a place among civilized and Christian nations. This, indeed, together with the independence of the government, has since been formally recognized by England, France, and America ; our own Congress declaring it in a marked manner in 1842, on the recommendation of the President, and through an able Report from the pen of John Quincy Adams, then Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. "Is a nation born in a day?" It is much, if it be born in twenty years from so degraded and distracted a state as that which the American missionaries found ; and to them is the chief credit due. To them does Lieutenant Wilkes give it, speaking at the same time in that qualified tone which shows his impartiality. "Not asserting that the course pursued by the missionaries is in all respects calculated to produce the most happy effects," he bears testimony to their excellent character and purposes, to their great labors and sacrifices. He meets explicitly the common charge of extravagance, showing that their dwellings and manner of living are any thing but "luxurious," and that the charge is both cruel and ludicrous, when the highest salary for a missionary family is four hundred dollars, with no other resources, and no permission to "hold any property for themselves, not even a cow ; all must belong to the mission, and be paid for by it." Of the state of morals and religion this candid observer speaks also favorably, with the same discrimination. In regard to Honolulu, for example, he says, "that great licentiousness and vice exist there is not to be denied" ; but he does deny that the blame is to be thrown in any degree upon the members of the mission, foreign or native ; and

traces it all to the influence of unprincipled residents, selfish traffickers, corrupt mariners, and the unwarrantable interference, at different times, of English and French men-of-war with the wholesome laws and Christian efforts of this new and feeble nation.

One of the most pleasing facts, and best evidences of progress, is the pecuniary, as well as personal, support given to public worship by the natives. Instances are told which should put to shame our own greatest liberality ; a single society raising, in three years, five thousand dollars for building and furnishing their meeting-house, besides common contributions, and subscribing also four hundred dollars for the support of a missionary. At a recent meeting in New York, similar instances were related of other societies there, and the statement was made, that the native government appropriate forty thousand dollars a year for schools. Good progress has also been made toward the establishment of a regular native ministry ; there being eleven seminaries for the preparation of native preachers and teachers, which now contain between four and five hundred pupils, and have already sent out a number of faithful laborers. These are separate from the common free-schools, of which, in 1846, there were three hundred and sixty-seven, wholly supported by the natives ; besides twenty-two boarding-schools. Facts like these are positive and valuable, whatever may be thought of results purely religious. The institution of marriage is now held sacred, and its forms are legally observed, where before license and incest prevailed. Theft and robbery, once so common, are as effectually restrained, and personal security is as complete, as with us. Intemperance, that fell destroyer, the enemy of religion and scourge of nations, has been made to feel the force of law and public opinion as decidedly as in any portion of the world, it is believed. In this respect, the efforts of the missionaries and of the native powers are worthy of all praise. As early as 1831, the queen and her nobles, persuaded of the necessity of a great effort, drew up and signed resolutions of total abstinence, formed a large Temperance Society, prohibited the traffic, and discouraged in every way the use of ardent spirit ; the governor of Oahu saying sarcastically and nobly to the dealers who applied for a license to sell to foreigners only, — “ To horses, cattle, and hogs sell rum, but not to real men.” Recently, thousands have pledged themselves against the use of tobacco also, — a new omen.

How sad that such principles and examples, exhibited by such a people, should be set at naught and baffled by Christian men ! Yet so it is. By residents and by armed vessels, not only by petty traders and dissolute sailors, but by English and French officers, and sometimes, though less frequently, by Americans, the laws have been openly violated, all remonstrance disregarded, and the government itself threatened, in some instances forced, at the mouth of the cannon, to rescind their salutary regulations, and yield their authority to the demands of cupidity and appetite. Grosser outrage than this, calling more loudly for the condemnation of the civilized world, we do not know. Its prominence and publicity make it unnecessary to give particulars ; nor have we room. We can only refer to the visit of the French frigate L'Artémise to the Sandwich Islands, in 1839 ; when Laplace, her commander, blockaded the harbour of Oahu, wrote to the American consul to offer protection in his ship to him and his countrymen, *except the "Protestant clergy,"* whom he chose to consider evil advisers of the native government against his own ; and then actually compelled the king, by the threat of open assault, to sign a new treaty the very next morning ; extorting also and carrying away twenty thousand dollars as security for the fulfilment of the treaty. And what was its object ? The toleration of Catholic worship in all the islands, with some marked favors, the liability of Frenchmen to be tried only by a jury of foreigners chosen by their own consul, and the admission of French wines and brandies at a nominal duty, that made them practically free to all ! The effect of this last provision was such as might be expected. The manner in which the young king complains of this and other interference, to Lieutenant Wilkes, is truly affecting. Attempts have been made to explain the affair, and exculpate the government of France, whose consul, on the departure of Laplace with the treaty, immediately despatched a vessel to South America for a load of priests, wines, and brandies. But we have seen no explanation, at all satisfactory, of this insult to the resident missionaries, and this wanton invasion of the liberty and morality of a people just struggling into existence as a Christian nation.

The whole transaction is connected with a controversy which must not be passed over, and to which we next turn, for a brief view. The French allege, that their religion and nation had been excluded and insulted by the authorities of



the Sandwich Islands, and their "perfidious counsellors," the American missionaries. They demand that their own teachers shall be admitted there as freely as any others, and their priests allowed to set up their altars and propagate their faith where they please. This, they say, has not been allowed; on the contrary, all toleration has been refused to the Catholics, and their priests have been forcibly expelled or cruelly persecuted. Now we pretend not to say that there is no ground for these complaints. Protestants are so ready to oppose and denounce Romanism, they have a heartiness of hatred and a sense of abomination so nearly akin to that of their opposers, that we can easily believe some of it would appear on both sides in those distant regions where one party was already in power, and the other regarded as intruders. In what way the Catholics would have received the Protestants, circumstances being reversed, might, probably, be learned by attempting to set up Protestant churches in Cuba, at this moment; demanding of the government there the gift of a site for a church of our own in Havana, as did Laplace in Honolulu. But whether the treatment of the Catholics in this instance was right or not, we find no proof that the American missionaries were guilty of any unchristian conduct or counsel. The local authorities may have been hasty or uncharitable. They were attached to those who had been their first teachers and best friends, they were satisfied with the religion which they had already adopted, they saw that a new and opposing faith would create division, and they saw also, or thought they saw, perhaps had been taught and prepared to see, in the whole form of the intruding service, a close resemblance to the image-worship which they had forsaken and now abhorred. With such feelings and fears, they may have acted hastily or unjustly; and their Protestant teachers may not have attempted to prevent it. Still we see no actual proof of wrong. And, after all, it is a question of narrow compass, as the Catholics themselves present it. For they put it on the ground of right, an equal and positive right, to be admitted to that new country, and plant their faith there. But had the natives no rights of their own? Were they not an independent people, and if they had chosen their religion, and chose to have no other, what right had France, or England, or any other nation, to interfere? Here, again, as in the case of Oregon, there is a curious exercise of power. His Holiness at Rome, Leo XII., some time in the year of

our Lord 1826, ordains a Jesuit priest of the name of Bachelot "Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands." Forthwith M. Bachelot, with another priest of the name of Short, sets sail for the islands, to take possession of the same. On arriving, he finds — not to his surprise, we presume — that the disciples of another faith have had possession sixteen years; that they have erected many churches and school-houses, and gathered into them thousands of disciples and children. He wishes to make disciples himself, and with much opposition he lands and begins his work. Soon it causes dissension, the objection of the chiefs grows into hostility, and he and his associates are compelled to leave the island. Very reluctantly they go, and after a few years return, but are not allowed even to disembark. Permitted to remain only till there is an opportunity to depart, and absolutely forbidden to preach, they are at last forced off in a poor vessel, and M. Bachelot, who is in feeble health, dies on the passage. In this last measure, there does appear to have been haste, if not harshness, against an honest and seemingly pious man; as there certainly was harshness and intolerance afterwards, in the punishment, by the Hawaiian rulers, of the natives who adhered to Romanism. Against that persecution we rejoice that the missionaries protested; we only wish that they had early protested against, and persisted in preventing, all opposition to the Catholics. The impolicy of such opposition, if nothing more, is palpable. But the *right* of the government itself to oppose and expel we still maintain; and if the Catholics deny it, we will remind them of a certain "golden rule." At the worst, these proceedings are a poor apology for the subsequent conduct of Laplace, who professed to find in them a violation of promises, and an insult to his nation. In fact, the bearing of the French officers, through the whole controversy, was insolent and violent; Mr. Bingham himself being rudely assailed by one of them, who gave him a blow, and threatened to hang him at the yard-arm, when merely acting as interpreter between the parties.

But the Catholics bring other charges. They have always said that Protestant missions would be failures, because of the heresy that taints and enervates them. They now aver that they are failures, and that the very best of them are proved to be so by notorious facts, and even by Protestant confessions. These allegations they are making at this mo-

ment, and in this country, more confidently and busily, we think, than at any former period. And what is their authority for these statements, so startling and important to all, if true? Their chief authority, so far as we learn, is Mr. Melville, in the two books to which we referred at the beginning, — "Typee" and "Omoo." These works are favorably noticed and largely used in the "Catholic Magazine," whose title and official authority we have given in full. The numbers of that journal for November and January last contain remarkable specimens of assertion and exultation, in regard to the utter futility, if not iniquity, of all the South Sea missions; and Melville most, though not alone, is adduced as establishing the important fact. It is undeniable that Melville does favor this view of the matter. We have only glanced at his books, but have read enough, and find enough in these extracts before us, if fairly given, to be satisfied that he has made assertions which ought either to be admitted or refuted. For ourselves, we place little reliance on these assertions; first, because the real design of the books that contain them is a matter of dispute; next, because the author himself has dropped them from the second edition of "Typee"; then, because the assertions do not all agree; and lastly, because they are unsustained, and contradicted, by other writers and eyewitnesses. Indeed, we doubt if Mr. Melville himself is not surprised that any one should form an opinion, or change an opinion, on this great subject, from his books alone; especially when it is seen, that, as we just implied, all his assertions are not against the missions, but some of them strongly in favor. Similar accounts of intemperance and licentiousness witnessed in the islands are often given by missionaries themselves, as greatly to be deplored, but still not incompatible with solid good. The passages in which he not only declares the beneficial effect of missions, but ascribes some of their failures to "disorders growing out of the proceedings of the French," are not quoted in the "Catholic Magazine." We do fear a want of ingenuousness in these assailants. We have sought in vain to verify some of their allegations, and even direct quotations, by referring to the authorities given. Some quotations are so torn from their connections as to prove nothing, and some are not easily found, though we cannot assert, and mean not to imply, that they are not to be found at all. But the mode of referring to them is unsatisfactory, and unwar-

rantable as the basis of such serious charges and sweeping conclusions.

The witness most relied upon, next to Melville, is Jarves. And the reliance there is chiefly on a single passage, in which Jarves describes the awful scenes witnessed at Honolulu after the death of the good Queen Kaahumanu, in 1832, and during a brief season of lawlessness, which the young king, of ardent passions himself, was induced by interested foreigners to allow. The passage is correctly quoted, and does give a terrible picture of appetite and excess, unbridled and heathenish depravity, such as reveals the enormity of the evil to be overcome, and should temper the tone of confidence and triumph as to spiritual changes. But those who quote the passage here do not state, as they should, that these excesses were in consequence of the removal of all restraints by the youthful ruler, and were followed by a reaction of the best kind, the king himself repenting of his folly, forsaking his evil advisers (dissolute men, headed by one Charlton, who boasted that the missionaries would be sent off in the next English armed vessel, thus indicating the source and motive of all this lawlessness), and soon bringing his willing people back to order, temperance, and religious observance. The hold which religion had gained, as seen in this speedy and permanent recovery, is as remarkable as the outbreak was melancholy. Yet this is the proof, cited by the "Catholic Magazine," of the utter uselessness of the Protestant mission, during the first ten years!

The attempt is also made to convict the "Missionary Herald" of concessions to this effect, by taking broken passages from various numbers of that journal, containing honest reports of difficulty, disappointment, and slow progress; as if every number of the Herald did not likewise contain some cheering accounts. Another witness summoned by the Magazine is Daniel Wheeler, the benevolent Quaker, who, about ten years ago, made a "religious visit to the islands of the Pacific ocean," with his son, Charles Wheeler; going at his own expense, but with a commission from the Friends in England, to whom he reported in full on his return. His "Letters and Journal" make an octavo volume of great interest,\* the only one we have read or heard of from such a source. As to its bearing, it is gen-

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\* See *Christian Examiner* for July, 1844, p. 35.



erally favorable to the character and influence of the missionaries both in the Sandwich and the Society Islands. The exceptions, cited by the Catholic reviewer, are no more than every honest observer would make. One practice that the Wheelers saw in the islands is foolish enough, to be sure ; that of "compelling" the natives to attend public worship, — "a man with a stick ransacking the villages for worshippers." We should be sorry to believe that such things are common, or that the missionaries ever countenance them. We find very little, however, unfavorable to the Protestant missions in this volume ; but we find an account of a Catholic priest, in Tahiti, implicated in a transaction so discreditable both to him and his faith, as to induce the queen to forbid "this man, or any other of the same profession, coming to disturb the peace and tranquillity of Tahiti."\* So much for the "testimony" of Daniel Wheeler. Of the other authorities given, Meyen, Kotzebue, and Beechey, we know nothing, except that the last is lightly esteemed, and from neither of them do the extracts offered prove any thing essential.

The case is not made out. The Catholic reviewer attempts too much, and is too confident, as well as flippant, in his whole tone. He speaks not truth, when he proclaims "the total failure of Protestant missionary effort in the islands of the Pacific, and the world over." He betrays

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\* Since that period, the unhappy queen of Tahiti, and her people, have suffered enough from the Romanists. The violent seizure of the island by a French squadron in 1842, the forcible introduction of Romish priests into a field which the London Missionary Society had occupied and successfully improved for more than forty years, the reduction of a peaceful and independent nation to a state of vassalage and warfare, — all, apparently, because of the resistance made to the licentious practices of the French, and their religious usurpations, — are among the most atrocious acts of our day. It was in the same year, and in the very same month, as if by previous concert, that the French sloop-of-war *Embuscade* visited the harbour of Honolulu, and demanded the exact fulfilment of all the promises which Laplace, as we have seen, obtained by force three years before ; Mallet, the captain of the *Embuscade*, complaining particularly of the restrictions put upon the sale of French wines and brandies, which Laplace had made free. And while the French were thus invading both groups of islands, the Society and Sandwich, or at least within a year of that time, the British themselves, who loudly complained of these aggressions, committed one, through Lord George Paulet, even more inconsistent, if less violent ; compelling the Hawaiian government, at the mouth of her Britannic Majesty's cannon, to make a formal "provisional cession" of the islands to Great Britain. We believe that the governments both of France and England refused to sanction these flagrant impositions ; but that they have attempted any just reparation we have never seen.

either ignorance or bigotry, or something worse than either, when he says of the native Hawaiian, — “We saw him, unaided by Christianity, triumphing over the bonds of superstition and idolatry ; we see him, after twenty years of Protestant training, returning to his vomit.” And when, further, we hear him say, that “the Catholic priest enriched the Hawaiian, whilst the Protestant parson fleeced him,” — and that “visiting the sick, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, are weapons rarely wielded by a Protestant mission,” — we are thrown back upon the fear, that the worst feature of Jesuitism has *not* disappeared. We turn with pleasure to the magnanimous avowal of a French nobleman, himself a Catholic, Count Agenor de Gasparin, member of the Chamber of Deputies, who, soon after the “infamous treaty,” as he calls that which was forced upon Oahu through the agency of Laplace, thus speaks of the whole Protestant mission : — “Where can we find in the annals of government a social transformation which can compare with that which sixty poor Americans have effected among a hundred and thirty thousand savages ? Let those who accuse them examine before they attack. Let them compare, before they proclaim, as they are wont, the immense superiority of Roman Catholic missions.”

We regret to see in Protestant journals, as sometimes in the “*Missionary Herald*,” the terms “Man of Sin,” and “horn of the Beast,” applied to the Church of Rome. There is neither victory nor charity in calling hard names. Romanism has done a great work, an heroic work ; and was not sent for naught. It is still busy in the Pacific, though less effectively since it was let alone. It is extending itself in Oceanica, China, and the East Indies, according to its own account, most rapidly. It is enlarging its force in our own country, though chiefly by emigration, exaggerating greatly the amount of its gains from Protestant ranks, and saying nothing of its many losses. Let Protestants be true to their own calling, both in temper and action, and they have nothing to fear. They, too, have done a great work ; why stop to compare it with any other ? Compare it rather with that which they should have done and have yet to do. Let others boast and assail, if they must ; let us confess, repent, and press manfully on. Let us remember the great commission of Christ, and remember also his spirit. Let our love of Christ exceed our fear of Antichrist. Let our

own heathenism have an end, — our revilings, our wars, our slavery, intemperance, licentiousness, grasping ambition, and consuming avarice. Can a corrupt fountain send forth life? The last ship from Boston carrying out missionaries, the Catalpa for Smyrna, is said to have carried also forty thousand gallons of rum. If so, and the missionaries knew it, and consented, (not that we believe the last,) we should fear for their salvation, and that of the rum-owners, as well as for the salvation of the benighted heathen. So have we fear for all among us who give nothing and do nothing for the heathen abroad or at home. "Covetousness is idolatry," — worse, as Christian, than the worst worship of the pagan. To believe in the impossibility of salvation for those whom God has made heathen is infidelity, if not impiety. But to believe in the certain salvation of those whom Christ has called to be Christian, but who are not, nor strive to be, nor help in any way to make others Christian, or to bless the world, is a perversity and peril for which we have no name.

Let Christians become Christian, and the earth will be illumined. Let Catholic and Protestant hate sin as cordially as they hate heresy, and truth will advance. Let Christ come, and idols, at Rome and at home, in India, Africa, and the isles of the ocean, will fall. O that all denominations of believers — our own not least, nor last — would consider the magnitude, the solemnity, and the infinite issues of the Master's words, — "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required"! E. B. H.

*E. B. Hall.*

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ART. VIII. — REV. JASON WHITMAN.\*

It has been for many years a source of regret, that so many of our churches need men in the pulpit, and that we have so few men to give them. Never was there a greater need of strong and warm-hearted pastors than now, — never more need of strong and warm-hearted men in all places

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\* *A Discourse on the Life and Character of Rev. Jason Whitman: delivered in the First Congregational Church in Lexington, Feb. 27, 1848. By THEODORE H. DORR, Minister of the Second Congregational Society in Lexington. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1848. 8vo. pp. 39.*

among us. We speak not, then, of a private grief, nor of one which affects simply the societies to which he has ministered, when we record the death of the Rev. Jason Whitman. We speak rather of a loss felt among all our churches, and throughout the community in general.

For he was such a man, such a pastor, and such a preacher, as we most need. He was a man. The integrity of his character was impaired neither by deficiencies in his heart nor in his head. He was zealous and enthusiastic in every good cause, wise and of sound judgment in regard to action. To deep feelings and sensibilities he joined so deep and calm a faith, that he was ever cheerful and ever trusting. To a practical good sense, and practical habits of thought, he added a devout spirit; with all his earnestness of action and eagerness to produce outward improvement, he ever felt the worth of the things of the spirit, and was, indeed, as distinguished for earnestness of spirituality as for earnestness of action.

Thus, and in almost all respects, he showed the completeness, the wholeness of his character; and it was this, his manhood, that gave his words and his example weight among his fellow-men. Nobly were those words uttered, that example shown. In good deeds he was always foremost to act, in good words always foremost to speak. A frequent contributor to our periodicals, a frequent lecturer at our lyceums, his writings were so marked with good sense, so aimed at good ends, that they had no inconsiderable effect upon the public mind. He spoke in behalf of freedom, in behalf of truth, of righteousness, of education, of good order, and respect for law. He has done a good work by his strenuous and successful efforts in behalf of temperance; and made his name known as a friend of freedom by his Christian testimony against slavery, especially since his winter's residence in the regions of that shadow of death. His lectures and writings have also made glad the hearts of our common-school teachers, and his faithful and active services as a member of school-committees have been a public benefit in the towns which have enjoyed his presence.

Nor are his exertions in aid of the Sunday school unworthy of notice. Both in his own parishes, and, for the last year or more, in the Middlesex Sunday School Association, he was ever ready to labor, and his labor was also effective.



The last-named body will scarcely find a Secretary who will more worthily fill the place.\*

As a pastor, Mr. Whitman was very dear to his people. Early in his ministry he made the subject of parochial duty a matter of earnest thought, and held much consultation with several of the wisest fathers in the ministry, upon the best mode of action. He was remarkably kind to the sick and the afflicted, and very frank, plain-spoken, and direct in the oversight of souls. For his usual parish visiting, his plan was, to become acquainted with his people, that he might adapt his preaching to their wants. But he conceived that acquaintance could never be gained by visiting each family successively, and not repeating the visit until the whole congregation had been seen. He therefore divided his people into sections, and became acquainted, by frequent visits, with one section at a time, while to the others he paid less attention. This course, said he, may produce a little unpleasant feeling in the section whose acquaintance is longest deferred, but not necessarily. And when the parish has thus been thoroughly examined, by sections, and its character is known, the advantage to the preacher is great. The plan, however, presupposes the continuance of the ministry for several years.

Mr. Whitman's preaching was marked by clearness, simplicity, directness, and earnestness. His style was as transparent as his heart. No man could misunderstand his meaning, or doubt the purity of his motives. There was no attempt at display. He moved towards the attainment of his object with a steadiness and singleness of aim which showed

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\* "The Fifth Report of the Middlesex Sunday School Society, made at the Sixth Annual Meeting, held Oct. 13th, 1847," and prepared by Mr. Whitman, appeared to us, on perusal, so admirable, both in plan and execution, that we were anxious to draw attention to it, by a notice, which has been twice excluded from our pages by the want of room. We may be allowed as a personal gratification to introduce here a part of what should have appeared in the last number of the Examiner.

"This excellent Report consists of 'Remarks upon the Statistics of the several Schools,' the 'General Management of the Schools,' and 'Parental Coöperation,' arranged under each head in the alphabetical order of the towns, with some pages, at the close, of 'General Remarks' on the duty of parents, and the distinction between the labors of the parent and those of the teacher; the whole forms a pamphlet containing much useful information and matter of permanent value. The last production of his pen which our friend gave to the public, it will remain a memorial of his sensible, earnest, Christian mind, of his interest in all good works, of his readiness to labor for their advancement, and of his clear understanding of the wants of the time." — *Eds. Christ. Exam.*

alike his good sense and his Christian fidelity. He forgot himself, and thought of his hearers and of his message. Like his brother, the Rev. Bernard Whitman, who was called before him to his reward, he never wrote to win admiration for himself, but preached and published his most important thoughts without a careful revision of the style, simply because they were important, and he could not delay their utterance for so light a consideration. This may have made his power less over a portion of his hearers, but with the majority it only gave additional weight to his words, by giving them a stronger conviction that he was in earnest. We say that he forgot himself and thought of his hearers ; a sincere desire to do good being the prompter of his words. He spoke in love ; he spoke also in humility, moved by faith and trust in God. There was no infidelity in his heart ; Jesus was living with him ; and his heart burned at the sound of the Saviour's voice. He had constant access unto God, and those who heard him felt that his word was from Heaven, — spoken in the Father's name and by his authority.

In the sermon preached after his decease by the Rev. Mr. Dorr, his fellow-laborer in the adjoining parish of East Lexington, we have an interesting memoir of his life, from which we draw our information as to his earlier days.

The Rev. Jason Whitman, brother of the Rev. Nathaniel and the Rev. Bernard Whitman, was born in Bridgewater, Mass., April 30th, 1799, and was the youngest of the family. Feeble from infancy, he was also subject in childhood to diseases which left permanent affections of the throat and lungs. But in his case, as in a thousand others, though the outward man was perishing, yet the inward man was renewed day by day. Confined to the house more closely than other children, he also loved books better, and sought wisdom through them. His earlier schooling was at the Bridgewater Academy, then kept by Mr. David Reed ; he afterwards studied with his brother, the Rev. Nathaniel Whitman, pastor of the First Congregational Society in Billerica, Mass., and at the age of nineteen went to the Academy in Exeter, N. H., where he continued three years, previously to entering Harvard College. He was graduated at Cambridge in 1825, with high honors, and immediately took charge of the Academy in Billerica, which he taught for three years. His college vacations had been partly employed in school-teaching, and this was the profession which his friends wished him to

pursue, thinking that the diseased state of the bronchial tubes would prevent him from speaking in public. But his heart was fixed to serve God in the sanctuary, and he steadily kept his determination to be an ambassador for Christ. He entered on the study of divinity at Cambridge, and in two years, being licensed by a ministerial association at Dover, Mass., began to preach. He was invited to settle in the town of Canton, Mass., but afterwards being called to Saco, Maine, he was ordained at the latter place in the year 1830. Here he remained three or four years, in a happy and successful ministry, when he was appointed General Secretary of the American Unitarian Association. For one year he filled this post acceptably to the Association and the public. At the urgent request of the Rev. Dr. Nichols, of Portland, Maine, he then yielded to pressing invitations, and was installed over a second Unitarian society in that place, in 1835. The engagement with them was for five years, and at the end of that time it was renewed for another period of five years. These ten years were spent in most active service, and were fruitful of the highest good. His ministry was not confined wholly to Portland, but, being obliged to spend one winter in a warmer climate, he went to Savannah, Ga., and there built himself a monument of enduring praise by his faithful labor among our brethren in that city.

On the 30th of July, 1845, he was installed over the First Congregational Society in Lexington, Mass., where he remained till the close of his life. Being called to Saco, to attend the funeral of his brother-in-law, the Hon. John Fairfield, of the U. S. Senate, and finding that the burial could not take place for several days, he determined upon a visit to his numerous friends in Portland. It was from exposure to the cold upon this journey between Saco and Portland, that he contracted the disease which terminated his life, on the 25th of January, 1848. It seemed fit that he should end his days among the people to whom the best days of his strength had been given. Their attachment to him was fully manifested by their watchful care during his illness, and by the substantial proofs of kindness they have shown, since his death, to those who were dearest to him in life.

We cannot confine ourselves to the use we have now made of Mr. Dorr's valuable sermon, but in justice to the subject of his remarks, as well as to himself, must copy a few passages

that will serve both to confirm and to enlarge the view we have given of Mr. Whitman's character.

"I have alluded to our brother's keen comprehension of Divine truth, his practical wisdom, his generous frankness, and ministerial fidelity. These qualities of mind and heart were adorned by an indomitable energy, a resolute perseverance, and a noble spirit of self-sacrifice, and all combined together made him what he was, in the highest sense of that term, '*a working man.*' In him was exemplified that 'divine marriage,' so eloquently spoken of in the sermon at the dedication of this church on Wednesday last, between 'work and worship,' 'action and prayer'; in respect to which it would be well, did all remember the command to which reference was then made: 'What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.' Valuable illustration of this remark is found in the facts that have been related of his early life, and of his preparation for the ministry, through all which period he contended manfully in the midst of many difficulties that would have seemed insuperable to others. His theory, carried out into every department of life, was, 'Work whilst it is day, for the night cometh, in which no man can work.' Such a spirit as this brooked no discouragement. I cannot omit to mention that beautiful instance of this spirit of fortitude and perseverance, which must ever be dear to your recollection, when, after the destruction of your house of worship by fire, more than a year since, he was seen on the next day going about from house to house, cheering your hearts, almost leading you to feel that a blessing rather than an affliction had fallen upon you. . . . . And this was but one instance among many of the happy fortitude with which he bore up under difficulties in his work, and made them conduce to the good of others. Oftentimes, when the futility or impracticability of some favorite purpose was urged upon him, he would humbly admit that it might be so, but the question with him was, '*What is my duty? What is to be done? How can it be done?*' And the faithful effort waited so quickly upon the inquiry, as to leave no doubt that he saw his duty plainly, and was resolved to pursue it. His enthusiasm seldom ran away with his judgment, but bid him in Heaven's name do something, and do it at once. We have seldom been privileged to see such intense mental activity with such entire kindness of heart, and such ready wisdom. No occasion found him unprepared. So long as the purpose was a good one, every opportunity for labor, labor of the mind, and heart, and voice, was acceptable. No one could labor with him, or come within the sphere of his influence, without observing the facility with which he turned every thing to some good account. In imitation of God's gracious providence, he made all things work together for good unto them that were exercised thereby." — pp. 23 - 26.



“At first view, a life of so much activity, of such earnest labors in every good work, may seem inconsistent with the more retired communings of the soul with God, with that devout meditation and secret prayer that form so important a part of the spiritual life, and comprehend its highest perfection. But with more careful thought, we shall perceive that as there can be no vigorous action of the physical energies, without the regular and healthy pulsations of the heart, so there can be no true outward service in the kingdom of God, unless a fountain of holy confidence in our Heavenly Father, and of fervent communion with his spirit, is cherished in the soul, and never without a copious supply of ‘the water of life.’ Our departed brother understood this truth in all its extent and applications; and labored for himself as faithfully as he labored for others. I consider his example in this regard as one of the richest remembrances that he has bequeathed to us all. With intense mental activity, he possessed great devoutness of soul. We read that our Saviour went apart oftentimes for prayer and secret communion with God. Here, as elsewhere, he of whom we now speak was faithful to imitate his Lord and Master. In the arrangement of his time, he was in the daily habit of using the earliest hours of the morning for study of the Bible, and holy meditation, and prayer. Here he gained his strength, his resolution, his faith, and his cheerful trust, and fortified himself with power to address other souls, and to comfort the wearied, sorrowing heart. His favorite authors were those who treated most profoundly of the inner life; and the most marked peculiarity of his discourses was found in the developments of a soul ever in intimate communion with Divine truth, and with Him who is the source of all truth. His sermons on the subject of prayer are striking exemplifications of this view of his character. His relations to many under his various ministries were of such a tender nature, that they sought communion with him, that they might understand the ways of the true inner life, and imbibe a portion of it from him. Influences have gone out from him of this nature, that will not cease their blessed ministry, now that he is removed from the earth.” — pp. 30 — 32.

We have thus given a brief sketch of a life crowded with plans for good, and efforts for their fulfilment, — a life closed in the midst of its usefulness. The people lately under his charge will bear witness that the voice at midnight found him in the field. Active, faithful, and wise in his ministry on earth, God hath called him to a ministry where the burden of the flesh shall no longer weigh down the spirit, or set bounds to the blessedness of following in Jesus’s steps.

T. H.

*Thos. Hill.*

## ART. IX. — BLINDNESS AND IDIOCY.\*

THE scientific spirit, which has been so busy for the last century in investigating the undeveloped resources of nature, bringing to light hidden and powerful agencies, and reducing the elemental forces into the service of man, has not been contented with its magnificent victories over the material world. It has applied itself, under the guidance of an enlightened and fearless philanthropy, to the examination of those imperfect members of the human family whose condition the men of former ages were unable to understand, and whose energies, therefore, were allowed to lie dormant through the whole period of their mortal life. The unfortunate in body or in mind lived and died, in the old times, as cumberers of the earth, happy if superstition did not outlaw them as cursed of God, if brutality did not torment or ignorance pamper them into a still lower mental and moral degradation. In the days when might made right, indeed, very much the same measure was meted to misfortune and to crime, and the influence of that barbarous period survived its grosser social forms, the teeth even of the nineteenth century being set on edge by the sour grapes which the Dark Ages ate. To lift the first public remonstrance against public prejudices is in no case a slight undertaking. To bring men face to face with loathsome, repulsive facts is especially difficult. And we can hardly overestimate the services which such men as Howard perform for humanity by their boldly Christian lives. The impulse once given, many hearts are ready to carry on the redeeming work; and the general progress of humane efforts in behalf of the outcasts of suffering and sin is a subject so attractive, that it might well detain us from our purpose in this article, but the important character of the doc-

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\* 1. *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation.* Cambridge. 1848. 8vo. pp. 76.

2. *A Blind Man's Offering.* By B. B. BOWEN. Boston: Published by the Author. 1847. 12mo. pp. 432.

3. *Treatment and Cure of Crétins and Idiots. With an Account of a Visit to the Institution on the Abendberg, Canton Berne, Switzerland, during the Summer of 1846.* By BUCKMINSTER BROWN, M. D. Republished from the *Am. Journal of Med. Science.* Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 19.

4. *Report of the Commission on Idiocy, under the Resolve of April 11, 1846, to the Governor of Massachusetts.* Presented Feb. 26, 1848. [Legislative Document, — Senate No. 51.] 8vo. pp. 53.

uments to which we have referred demands of us special attention.

In his Sixteenth Report to the Corporation of the Perkins Institution, Dr. Howe has advanced some new views of the causes and effects of blindness, which, as they lead to very weighty consequences, and are evidently the results of the most thorough and serious conviction, are not to be lightly considered. In the many institutions for the instruction of the blind which have sprung into existence since the year 1784, much interest has of course been excited in relation to the intellectual capacities of this class of persons. The favorable conclusions, which were justified by the achievements of those *selected* pupils with whom the experiment began, were hastily generalized, and the blind at the various schools have been encouraged with flattering hopes of success in the highest walks of life. "Blind persons," said the Trustees of the New England Institution, in their first Address, published in 1833, "can become as well qualified as seeing persons for many employments which are generally thought beyond their powers. . . . We know not why they should not make first-rate counsellors, and think it possible they might fill the pulpit both ably and usefully." In accordance with these views, the pupils of the various institutions have been met, on their entrance, with the encouraging theory, that the majority of them might be fitted to hold responsible and desirable positions in society, and that all could earn a fair support by manual labor. How many have thus been nurtured in hopes which their after life was destined to destroy cannot be known; but we fear that not a few will exclaim now, "in the bitterness of their hearts, that it would have been better to leave them in ignorance than to enlighten and cultivate their minds, so as to make them more sensible to the stings of poverty and the shame of dependence." \*

Instances of successful enterprise on the part of blind men are to be found, indeed, bearing witness, not only to their own energy of character, but to the skill and efficiency of their instructors. One such is afforded us by the history of Mr. Bowen, the title of whose book we have quoted. Mr. Bowen was born in Marblehead, Mass., and lost his sight when six weeks old. His parents being in indigent circumstances, he was early thrown upon his own

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\* *Sixteenth Report of Perkins Institution*, p. 31.

exertions, and the account which he gives of his fishing expeditions (for his blindness did not interfere with that irresistible genius of the place which has made Marblehead so illustrious for the courage of its seamen and the multitude of its widows) is very interesting. At fourteen years of age, he was selected by Dr. Howe as one of his first six pupils. His excessive physical activity was expended for the first two years on manual labor; after that time he turned to study, and maintained a respectable position in his class. On leaving the Institution, he received a certificate of good conduct and honorable discharge, with a high testimonial to his musical acquirements; but "I was penetrated," he says, "with a more profound consciousness of the deprivation to which I was subjected, without being much more able than before to overcome its defects." He attempted to accomplish something as a weaver of Manilla mats, the manufacture of which has been largely pursued at South Boston, but "miserably failed"; and he adds, "a blind person, working at this employment fourteen or fifteen hours, can only average about fifty cents a day." The importance of this testimony will appear in a subsequent part of our remarks. He finally undertook to lecture and to teach music, which occupations he has since followed. Though sufficiently open to criticism, Mr. Bowen's book contains much that is interesting. It is pervaded by a strong religious feeling. Without underrating the misfortune under which he labors, the author yet takes a manly, sensible view of life, is disposed to look pleasantly and kindly on all things, and offers a beautiful refutation of the popular and most unjust notion, that those who are cut off from the enjoyment of one of the senses are generally, and therefore, disposed to be sour and misanthropic. Music seems to be the most blessed source of peace to the blind, and Mr. Bowen bears his testimony to this universal fact in the following words:—

"There is no faculty I possess, with which I would not part, rather than relinquish the high satisfaction which music imparts. Gladly would I open these sealed orbs, and look out upon the vast, magnificent universe; but I would not accept so great a boon, if it must be obtained at the sacrifice of the deep joy, the inexpressible happiness, which music alone can afford."—*Offering*, p. 299.

The persevering industry and ceaseless activity of Mr. Bowen have procured him, we understand, a fair measure of



success, and his book certainly is an index of what may be done for and by the blind ; but in the immense majority of cases, experience has gradually falsified the brilliant expectations at first entertained on this subject. Discouragement has followed, bringing with it doubts of the whole system of education for the blind ; and though the interest generally taken in them cannot be said to have subsided, it has not acquired such extent or depth as, from the nature of the case and the great objects in view, might have been expected.\*

The Reports of Dr. Howe to the Perkins Institution, for some years past, furnish evidence of his unremitted attention to the most enlarged duties of his position, in the varying views which he has presented of the mental abilities of the blind. He has been joined to no idol in this matter, and in his last Report has given the results of his long and careful observation in the following statements : — first, that “ the blind, as a class, are inferior to other persons in mental power and ability ” ; and, secondly, that “ blindness, or a strong constitutional tendency to it, is very often hereditary.”

The first of these facts, which experience, we think, has fully demonstrated, might, as Dr. Howe says, have been inferred, *a priori* ; for the sense of sight affords most fruitful material to the soul, its destruction excludes knowledge at one of its most important entrances, and to suppose that there can be a full and harmonious development of character without sight is to suppose “ that God gave us that noble sense quite superfluously.” When “ gone from hence,” the soul may be

“ One orb of sense,  
All eye, all touch, all ear ” ;

but while we inhabit this world, our senses are the constituted recipients of the influences which surround us. Whatever partial excellence, then, the blind may achieve, a perfect harmony of soul and mind is as impossible to them as perfect physical symmetry and beauty. But this is not all. The standard of bodily health among the blind is greatly inferior to the standard of bodily health among seeing persons. In the Report of the Kentucky Institution for 1845, we find it asserted, that “ the blind are peculiarly liable to sick-

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\* In proof of this, we need only adduce the fact, that so little has been done in the way of printing for the blind, and that little by private liberality. Printing in relief was invented by Haüy in 1784, and in 1845 the English library for the blind did not much exceed sixty books.

ness." This seems to be invariably true, and Dr. Howe goes so far as to estimate, from observations made by himself, that "the chance of life among the blind is only one half what it is among the seeing." This may seem extravagantly unfavorable to the blind, but the results of inquiries made of various competent persons very distinctly confirm the position, that the blind, as a class, are inferior in body and mind to the seeing. A statement made by the superintendent of one of our great institutions will illustrate this remark. "Out of one hundred and thirty-five pupils," says this gentleman, "seventeen may be considered to possess superior talent, thirteen of whom were born blind; thirty-five are of inferior talent, of whom twenty-two were born blind; ten are of a very low grade of mind, hardly rising above imbecility, of these eight were born blind: of vigorous, well-developed forms there are thirty-one, nine of whom were born blind; of weak and puny frames, forty-four, of whom thirty-one were born blind." He adds, "I should think that a comparison of all others who have ever been connected with this Institution would not materially vary the above results." The knowledge of this inferiority of the blind, instead of diminishing, must increase our interest in them. It strengthens their claim upon our sympathies, and especially confirms their right to positive assistance. Society must give them, not only education, but the means and the sphere for useful and respectable occupation. If their infirmity thus affects, not only the organ which is the immediate sufferer, but their whole bodily and mental organization, — and that it does so, investigation of the facts does not permit us to doubt, — it is just and right that they should be relieved from the risks attendant upon their unassisted efforts at self-support, and should be provided with such appliances for comfort and labor as shall put them on something like an equal footing with the seeing, in the arena of life.\*

Dr. Howe maintains, that, while in many cases the weakness of body and mind may have been produced, in a great measure, by unwise indulgence of the blind during childhood, a larger number of those who lose their sight after birth

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\* This view of the condition of the blind lends great force to Dr. Howe's arguments in favor of the enlargement and permanent establishment of the Work Department at South Boston. It is only such a combination among themselves that can give the blind workmen any thing like an equality of position with seeing mechanics.

may be said to have been born "to become blind," the blindness being "a symptom or local manifestation of some general cause which vitiates, or affects unfavorably, the whole bodily organization." In such persons, the slightest accident or inflammation may destroy the sight.\* If these opinions are correct, then it follows that blindness must, in many cases, be considered as hereditary; and thence again, that, being thus a consequence of the violation of natural laws, it can be constantly diminished, and finally altogether done away, by a regular and universal obedience to those laws. In the Address of 1833, already referred to, it was stated, that the "proportion of the blind would be found to be, at all times, about the same, in the same countries," — that "blindness is one of the instruments by which a mysterious Providence has chosen to afflict man," — and that it is "as little probable that by any accident all mankind should lose their eyes, as that by any precaution all should preserve them." To this view the Sixteenth Report offers a noble reply, and we cannot but feel assured of the truth of a theory which is so entirely in unison with our highest views of the relation between God and man, and of those eternal provisions by which the control of their own welfare is placed within the reach of all his intelligent and moral creatures. The solemn and eloquent words in which Dr. Howe announces the consequences of a full and general understanding of this law of the transmission of tendencies, bodily and mental, cannot be too often repeated.

"It will be seen," he says, "that the wit of man cannot devise a way of escape from the penalty of a violated law of nature, . . . . that sins of this kind are not and cannot be forgiven. . . . It will be seen that many a mother is responsible for the pride, the vanity, the lust of her daughter; that many a father is as guilty of the death of his son upon the gallows as though he twisted the rope about his neck with his own hands. Then many a woman will rouse herself to the stern duty of observance of every law of health, of abstinence from all luxury and all sloth-

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\* In two of the English asylums, those of Liverpool and Glasgow, the proportion of patients born blind was, respectively, one twelfth and one seventh; but in the former institution, out of 1157 patients, 377 lost their sight through inflammations, 127 by amaurosis, and 130 by cataracts; in the latter, out of 139 patients, 52 lost their sight by inflammations, 18 by amaurosis, and 9 by cataracts. In the Ohio Institution, as appears by the Ninth Report, out of 118 pupils, 24 were born blind, 25 lost their sight by inflammations, 8 by amaurosis, and 9 by cataracts.

fulness, for the sake of those dear ones that may be born to her ; and many a man will abandon sensual indulgences which he would have clung to through life but for fear of cursing his future offspring with hellish passions. Then will some soar to such an exalted pitch of virtue, as to forego their dearest hopes, and resolutely keep aloof from any relations of life that might cause them to hand down bodily or mental infirmities upon the innocent ones of the coming generations. . . . Then it will be seen, that, if this world is a vale of tears, if it is full of deformity, and suffering, and sickness, and crime, it is man, and not God, that maketh it so." — *Sixteenth Report*, pp. 50, 51.

A man, whose heart and conscience have been so seriously moved to the observation and relief of misery in one shape, cannot rest in the straight line of one philanthropic idea, and Dr. Howe presents us, in the Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the Condition of Idiots in Massachusetts, with the results of the application of the spirit of scientific humanity to a subject of the most painful interest. Undergoing much vexatious and unpleasant labor, brought into contact with human nature in its most degraded conditions, the Commissioners have persevered in their task, and now inform us of the startling fact, that there are, at present, within the borders of Massachusetts, certainly more than one thousand persons sunk in brutish idiocy. Four hundred of these wretched beings have been "inspected" personally by the Commissioners and their agent, and upon the mental and bodily condition of these (a minute report of which is in course of preparation) are based the remarks and conclusions of the present document. Though generally treated with kindness, there is a great want of skill and judgment in the management of those idiots who are supported as paupers in the almshouses. They are allowed to associate with ignorant and depraved persons, and in many cases are given up to the dominion of the most disgusting appetites, so that, although no intentional cruelty is displayed towards them, the consequences to them of the deplorable ignorance of their keepers are truly fearful. Neglect of cleanliness, producing the most diseased physical states, want of discrimination in the quality and quantity of the food granted them, and carelessness or inability to put a stop to those debasing bodily habits which, "more than all things else, degrade them below the brutes, and keep them there," — these are some of the deficiencies in the keepers of idiotic paupers, which call for an immediate and thorough



reform. These human beings, however polluted and depraved, mentally and morally, are still our brothers before God, and are susceptible of an elevation which, when contrasted with their present degradation, may be called angelic. Under the public care, as now exercised, they are sinking deeper and deeper ; and their condition in private families is even worse. Out of three hundred and fifty-four idiotic persons, who were neither State nor town paupers, only five were considered by the Commissioners to be discreetly and judiciously treated. The details of the unreasonable, the grossly absurd conduct of parents in relation to their idiotic children, which the Report furnishes, are almost incredible.

These things are the result of ignorance, it is true, but the ignorance itself must soon be a sin and disgrace to us ; for it is now proved, by triumphant experience in France, Switzerland, and Prussia, that idiots may be trained to habits of industry, cleanliness, and self-respect ; that " the highest of them may be measurably restored to self-control, and the very lowest of them may be lifted from the slough of animal pollution to the platform of humanity." \*

It is a remarkable fact, that the first effort on record to educate an idiot was made for the purpose of sustaining the sensualist philosophy, by Itard, on the wild boy Peter of Aveyron. This object was not attained, but the humane philosopher, when he discovered that the supposed savage was merely an idiot, devoted himself to his instruction. He left many valuable hints on the subject, which have since been carried out very successfully. In 1828, a school for idiots was organized at the Bicêtre, one of the large insane hospitals of Paris. In 1831, a similar attempt was made at the Salpêtrière, the other great asylum, with some female idiots. The most satisfactory explanations of the phenomena of idiocy have been given in various pamphlets by Dr. Voisin, who opened a private school for idiots in 1834, and in 1839 was appointed physician at the Bicêtre, where, in connection with Dr. Leuret, he renewed and enlarged the school established by M. Ferrus, the principal teacher of which is, at present, M. Vallée. To Edouard Séguin, however, belongs the highest glory, for the improvements made by him in the art of teaching and training idiots. The most full and encouraging testimony to the success of the benevo-

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\* *Report*, p. 31.

lent labors of these men has been borne by distinguished scientific gentlemen of France, and by foreigners of high reputation, as Dr. Conolly, chief physician of the great English asylum at Hanwell, and George Sumner, Esq., of Boston, whose account of the Parisian schools was embodied in a Report presented the last year by the Massachusetts Commission on Idiocy. In Prussia and in England attention has also been paid to the subject. But the most remarkable school for idiots yet established is the Institution of the Abendberg, Canton Berne, Switzerland. The account of this place given by Dr. Brown, who visited it in the summer of 1846, is very interesting. A peculiar sort of idiocy, connected with a diseased bodily condition, prevails in various quarters of the world, as in the Tyrol, Kärnthen, Styria, Savoy, some parts of North America, and especially in certain cantons of Switzerland. The persons afflicted with this malady are generally mild and gentle, and in Switzerland the simple shepherds have given to them the name of *Crétins*, — a corruption of *Chrétiens*, — probably because they are accustomed to consider unresisting gentleness as a principal element in the Christian character. It is chiefly for the education of *Crétins* that the school on the Abendberg is intended. Dr. Guggenbuhl, its founder and superintendent, gives the following account of the origin of his plan, which, as it affords some insight into the character of the man, is worthy of attention.

“Called upon some years since,” he says, “to investigate a malignant disease which infested the beautiful valleys of the higher Alps, I saw an old *Crétin*, who was stammering a half-forgotten prayer before an image of the Virgin, at Leedorf, in the Canton Uri. This sight excited my feelings in favor of these unhappy creatures, and fixed my vocation. A being still capable of conceiving the thought of God is worthy of every care and every sacrifice. These debased brothers, are they not more worthy of our interest than those races of animals which we labor to make perfect?” — *Treatment and Cure of Crétins*, p. 7.

Built on a height which secures the purity and freshness of the air, surrounded by lofty mountains, looking down upon the sunny vale of Interlachen and the lakes of Brienz and Thun, the institution of the Abendberg possesses every external advantage. Thus inspired within and sustained without, the establishment has been wonderfully successful. The number of patients received, up to the time of the Report,

was thirty, — of whom six had been restored to the normal development of children, sixteen were still under treatment, six had been sent home greatly improved in health and habits, and two had died. Several cases are quoted by Dr. Brown, for which we refer our readers to his pamphlet ; the final observations on the experiment, in Dr. Guggenbuhl's Report, being given as follows : — “ First, that *many* learn to speak, and receive religious and moral ideas. Secondly, that some learn to read and write. Thirdly, that still others become able to learn a trade, and particularly to apply themselves to agricultural and domestic labors.” It is gratifying to know that this noble undertaking has attracted the attention of men richer in this world's goods than its heroic founder, and that the institution still stands among the Alps of Berne, a more imposing monument of love and power than the solid mountain ranges which support it.

The idiot's case, then, is no longer hopeless. Patience, love, and wisdom can dissolve even his spiritual petrification. This work, once made possible, becomes an imperative duty. Every day sows the seeds of evils whose duration and influence we cannot measure ; for these wretched beings, brutal, depraved, neglected, are wandering at large among us, polluting with unutterable abominations the tender minds of children, and plunging themselves into deeper abysses of degradation. How soon shall the one step be taken which shall stay this indefinite progress of corruption, redeem society from an awful scourge, and restore a thousand human beings to peace, order, and the comparative enjoyment, at least, of the privileges and faculties of men ? We trust that the prompt and decisive action of the legislature will show the Commissioners that they are not laboring in vain, and will prove that Massachusetts cannot be apathetic in a cause involving so deeply the welfare of present and future generations.

W. H. H.

## ART. X. — WHITWELL'S TRANSLATION OF ROMANS.\*

WE welcome Mr. Whitwell's book as an indication of a reviving interest in critical studies. Its humble size sufficiently attests the author's distrust of a disposition in the public to encourage works of this class, and we think that he has sufficient ground for such distrust. For several years critical theology has been sinking into disrepute among us. Mr. Norton's great work has been received with the respect due to his name, but how many readers beyond the clergy has it found? Mr. Livermore's Commentary on the New Testament has met with favor because it supplied a want that could not but be felt, especially by the large body of Sunday School teachers. Dr. Noyes's Translations of the Hebrew Scriptures have, by their merits, slowly gained a tolerable, and only a tolerable, sale. When we have named these publications, what remains that bears witness to a love of sacred criticism among either ministers or people? The study of the Bible in the original languages, pursued with such enthusiastic diligence and noble success by our predecessors in the ministry, has given place to the gratification of tastes of a less professional character. We have mourned over the change, not only as affording a presage of the decay into which our denomination, if it continue to discredit the labors of the Biblical student, must fall, but as indicating an erroneous appreciation of the sources of religious truth. Unitarian Christianity rests upon the Bible. A faithful exposition of Scripture has been the means of its spread through different portions of the community, and with a disregard of Biblical learning must come a blight upon the churches which owe their prosperity, if not their existence, to a free but reverential study of the sacred volume.

The immediate effect of a neglect of critical theology is seen in a low standard of professional qualification. Preachers are less thoroughly educated when they enter the pulpit, and afterwards bestow less attention on those studies which especially deserve, and most largely reward, the industry of the Christian minister. Integrity of purpose, earnestness,

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\* *A Translation of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with an Introduction and Notes.* By WILLIAM A. WHITWELL, Minister of the Congregational Society in Wilton, N. H. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 16mo. pp. 108.



and piety are essential to ministerial success ; but sound learning is an accomplishment, the want of which, though in an individual it may be overbalanced by natural gifts, must force the body of the clergy of any denomination into a lower social position than that which, by virtue of their office and their opportunities of influence, they ought to hold. We cannot bear the thought, that our pulpits should be filled with men half educated, and therefore but half fitted for the work which they undertake. We do not need those who shall win the applause of the world for eloquence or scholarship, but we do need, and we must have, able theologians, men who make the Bible not only the text-book of their preaching and the manual of their life, but the subject of their laborious investigation.

The Epistles of the New Testament will probably present an occasion for the exercise of the interpreter's toil and skill to the end of time. The "things" in Paul's letters which were "hard to be understood" by his contemporaries still perplex the reader and divide opinion ; while other things that were intelligible then have become obscure as the world has moved farther off from the circumstances out of which they arose. It is possible to read this part, or any part, of the Bible devoutly and profitably without a clear understanding of every passage which it includes. There is a religious, and there is a critical use of the Bible, and we do not question, that, separately considered, the former is infinitely more important than the latter ; but we maintain, — and who will deny ? — that, if the critical study of the Scriptures without a religious spirit must fail of reaching their highest significance, the most devout perusal without the aid that may be derived from a correct system of interpretation, with its proper instruments, must induce many imperfect and inaccurate conclusions. No example could be more in point than is furnished by the letters of the late Mr. Adams on the Bible, addressed to his son, numerous copies of which were circulated in manuscript many years since. They discover the reverence and faith and general intelligence which distinguished their author, but they show the want of that scientific acquaintance with the Scriptures which the commentator should exhibit, and which it is his office to impart.

Commentary, however, valuable as it is, should be preceded, and in a measure superseded, by translation, and the Epistles of the New Testament, particularly, might be freed

from many of the difficulties that now hang over them by a correct translation. To call the received version faulty is only to say what every scholar knows and every honest man will confess. A new translation of Paul's Epistles which should preserve the force while it exhibited the connection of the original, neither perverting nor diluting the Apostle's meaning, but giving to the English reader that exuberant magnificence of thought which even the copious vocabulary and flexible forms of the Greek language seem scarcely able to convey, — a translation true to the genius of the original and the capacities of the modern tongue, — a translation that should be neither a paraphrase nor a verbal imitation, — would be an invaluable gift to our own and to future ages.

It may be from a conviction of this truth, that Mr. Whitwell has confined himself to a translation of the Epistle to the Romans, with a few pages of notes, while Professor Stuart, whose exegetical garrulity does sad injustice to his real learning, has but followed the example of other commentators in publishing a heavy book (let no one think we speak in a double sense) upon the same Epistle. In regard to this new Translation, the first remark of every reader must be, that it is vastly more intelligible than that given in the Common Version. As we go on from illustration to illustration, and from argument to argument, we get a distinct notion of the writer's meaning and purpose, — provided they be what the translator supposes. The Epistle is no longer *hard to read*. But against this, which is no slight excellence, must be set in our judgment two defects, one of which at least is of a serious character. First, Mr. Whitwell needlessly departs from the language of the Common Version. In many instances, where a change was not required for the purpose of giving a more just or clear expression of the thought, he substitutes other words in the place of those to which we have become familiar, and with which so many dear and sacred associations have been formed. While we would not, out of regard to such associations, retain a single phrase or word that does not faithfully exhibit the original, we would not so far disregard them as to adopt a change suggested merely by a slight preference on the score of taste.

A second, and more serious, qualification of the praise which we are disposed to bestow on Mr. Whitwell's labor arises from a doubt whether he has always apprehended the Apostle's meaning. The general view of the design and

plan of the Epistle, given in the "Introduction," though it fails of setting before us the fulness and peculiar quality of Paul's mind in his composition of the letter, is substantially correct; but in many passages of the translation, his meaning seems to us to be misrepresented. We particularly observe this in the rendering of the word *δικαιοσύνη*, which Mr. Whitwell, with some other Unitarian critics, considers, in its application to God, as denoting the Divine "benignity" or "mercy." It is with great diffidence, against the authority that we know can be brought in favor of an opposite opinion, that we express a doubt whether this rendering ever gives the full force of the original word. Sometimes it greatly misrepresents it, as in the oft-quoted text, Romans iii. 26, which Mr. Whitwell translates, — "to show his mercy at this time, that he may be known to be merciful and the bestower of mercy on all who believe in Jesus"; which we think would be rendered more in harmony both with the usual import of the word and with the design of the Apostle's argument in these words, — "to make manifest his righteousness" (his perfect rectitude or integrity of character) "at this time, that it may appear that he is righteous" (or does right) "while imputing righteousness to" (or regarding as righteous) "him who believes in Christ Jesus." The term "justice," in the sense of an administrative or legal attribute, is equally remote from the true meaning of the original. The good old word of the Common Version, "righteousness," comes nearer to the exact sense than any other in our language.\* As the paragraph to which this text belongs affords a good example of both the excellence and the defects which mark the Translation before us, we will transcribe it.

21 "But now, as was foretold by the law and the prophets,  
 terms of acceptance with God, without the observance of the  
 22 law, are announced — that acceptance, which is to be obtained  
 by faith in Jesus Christ — to all, without exception, who be-  
 23 lieve. There is no difference, for all have sinned and cannot  
 24 boast of righteousness before God. They are accepted by

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\* Let any one examine the passages quoted by Schleusner under each of his fourteen significations of the word, and see how the idea of *right* is the essential idea which they all present. In some cases, the rendering of *δικαίος* by *lenient*, and of *δικαιοσύνη* by *benignity*, as proposed by Schleusner, is a manifest perversion of the meaning, as, e. g. in 1 John i. 9, (we think, also, in Matt. i. 19,) and Rom. iv. 6.

his unmerited favor, through the deliverance which is by Jesus  
 25 Christ, whom God hath exhibited as a token of his propitious  
 disposition toward those who believe on him; to declare his  
 benignity by the forbearance of God in overlooking sins that  
 26 are past; to show his mercy at this time, that he may be  
 known to be merciful and the bestower of mercy on all who  
 believe in Jesus." — p. 30.

Mr. Whitwell's rendering of *δικαιοσύνη*, we should observe, is very various. In this passage it is translated "terms of acceptance," — "acceptance," — "benignity," — "mercy"; and in the next chapter, ver. 3, "goodness," ver. 6. "favor," ver. 22, "virtue." We had marked other instances where the translation does not appear to us to present the Apostle's idea, and examples, also, of a tendency to run into the error of explaining rather than simply rendering a passage; but our limits bring us to a close. The Notes contain many remarks which the writer had preserved from recitations at the Divinity School, and he gratefully acknowledges his obligations to the gentleman who then filled the Professorship of Sacred Literature, while he very properly disclaims for his memoranda the character of exact transcripts of the opinions of his teacher. On the whole, though we do not think Mr. Whitwell has been altogether successful in the version he has given us, we are glad he has published this book, especially at this time, and we hope it may serve to rekindle a love of Biblical criticism in the breasts of our clergy and our people.

E. S. G.

*Edw. Gamwell.*

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\* \* From the circumstance, that, in the comments on Mr. Forster's *Life of Vane* in our last number, no notice was taken of the fact, that he had repeatedly used the language of the Rev. Mr. Upham without acknowledgment, some injustice may seem to have been done to the latter. If so, it was wholly unintentional. Mr. Upham's *Life of Vane* we have ever held in high estimation. It was some years since we had read it, but our attention having been directed to the subject, we have been at the pains of comparing it with the more recent work of Mr. Forster, and find that he has borrowed whole passages from Mr. Upham without proper credit, and we cannot but regret that a writer of so great and varied learning should have been guilty of such disreputable plagiarisms.

C. C. S.



## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*Christian Views : or Discourses, Doctrinal, Practical, and Devotional ; designed for the Candid, Serious Consideration of all Denominations of Christians.* By the Author of the *Christian Layman*. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 300.

THE "Christian Layman" referred to in this title has had a considerable circulation, and been well received by the class of readers for which it was written. The present volume contains twenty discourses on various subjects of a doctrinal and practical character. The author professes to have written them, not for the learned or the theologian, but for the "common mind," — for the less highly educated. He does not aim at "studied elegance and beauty of style." His object is "to promote and advance evangelical religion among the generality of the people."

If we had any doubt of the want of plainly written devotional books for circulation amongst people of moderate education, the doubt would be dissipated by actual inspection of their meagre libraries, and by observing the strong attachment manifested by such persons even to very ordinary works which have fallen into their possession. We are liable to underrate the number of individuals and families in small country towns, and in villages and hamlets remote from literary advantages and excitement, who have no relish for, and no means of procuring, such volumes of sermons and other religious publications as are most highly esteemed in our own meridian. They are many, and they must be fed, and fed with such intellectual food as is adapted to their capacity and their taste. Plain food it may be, but it should be none the less wholesome than that which is furnished for more cultivated minds. It is desirable that sound, wise, and pure thoughts should be supplied in a form so humble and a style so inartificial as to make them intelligible and familiar. This our author has endeavoured to accomplish ; how successfully, those for whom the book was written are best qualified to decide. The discourses seem to us, so far as we have examined them, to be plain, serious, and practical. Several of them contain discussions of important doctrinal questions, and the writer's theological belief is clearly expressed ; but the volume is free from the alloy of sectarian feeling, and breathes a tone of brotherly kindness towards all Christians and all men.

R.

*The Library of American Biography.* Conducted by JARED SPARKS. Second Series. Vols. XIV. and XV. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847 and 1848. 16mo. pp. 419 and 461.

THE first of these volumes contains a reprint of the Life of the traveller Ledyard, by Mr. Sparks himself. This is certainly worthy of a place in the "Library of American Biography." The other volume — the fifteenth, and, we are sorry to say, the last, of the series — opens with an account of the life and services of Colonel William Richardson Davis, distinguished in our Revolutionary annals, by Fordyce M. Hubbard. The Life of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Indians, and father of the late President Kirkland, by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, fills the remaining part of the volume. The name of Kirkland is enshrined in a multitude of hearts, but, independently of any adventitious interest, the present biography will prove attractive from the manner in which it is executed, and valuable for the amount of information it affords relative to a portion of the aborigines of North America, and the efforts made to introduce among them "the arts and influences of Christian civilization." The memoir derives additional worth from the fact, that it is prepared from "original documents," and Mr. Kirkland's "own journals and letters." "The chapter on Indian history," observes Mr. Lothrop towards the close of the narrative, "is the darkest and saddest chapter in the annals of this country; and the end is not yet." We wish that the writer would resume and pursue this subject, particularly in its connection with missionary efforts. He must be able to lay his hand on abundance of materials; and while the trains of thought and views, which must have suggested themselves during the preparation of the present memoir, are fresh in his mind, he would find it easy, we think, to furnish something that would not only be read with interest now, but possess a permanent value. We earnestly commend the subject to his attention

L.

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*A Treatise on the Law of Copyright in Books, Dramatic and Musical Compositions, Letters and other Manuscripts, Engravings and Sculpture, as enacted and administered in England and America; with some Notices of the History of Literary Property.* By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS, Counsellor at Law. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 450.

If any literary man wishes to become interested in law-books, let him begin with the volume before us. Independently of its

value to members of the legal profession, it will serve a high use as an introduction of the science of the law to scholars and general readers. The circulation of Mr. Curtis's work will doubtless help, with other agencies, to secure for authors the full enjoyment of their just claims, which are now but partially protected by all existing laws of copyright. The volume contains a sketch of the history of literary property, and a detail of the provisions of the law in England and the United States, as it applies to letters and other manuscripts, to abridgments, translations, periodicals, dramatic compositions, engravings, and maps, to literary piracy and infraction. An Appendix includes the British and American statutes concerning copyright. In the notes, valuable information and interesting anecdotes are freely afforded, and extracts are given from the famous arguments of Lord Camden and Sergeant Talfourd.

E.

*Biographical Notices of some of the most Distinguished Jewish Rabbies, and Translations of Portions of their Commentaries and other Works, with Illustrative Introductions and Notes.* By SAMUEL H. TURNER, D. D., Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture in the Gen. Theol. Sem. of the Prot. Epis. Church. New York: Staniford & Swords. 1847. 12mo. pp. 245.

*Talmudic Maxims, translated from the Hebrew; together with other Sayings, compiled from various Authors.* By L. S. D'ISRAELI, Teacher of Hebrew and German. Boston: J. French. 1848. 12mo. pp. 197.

WE think that the title of Dr. Turner's volume professes a little too much. The book, however, is not without value. The biographies, though short, contain, we suppose, the principal facts and incidents which can be gleaned respecting the subjects of them, and the specimens of Rabbinical interpretation given afford means of comparing Jewish with Christian ideas relating to some prophecies generally esteemed Messianic.

The defect of D'Israeli's work is, that the "maxims translated from the Hebrew" are not distinguished from the "other sayings." The former — maxims really "Talmudic" — would possess an historical interest, and would be read, if not for their intrinsic value, at least as matter of curiosity.

L.

*Duties of Young Women.* By E. H. CHAPIN. Boston: George W. Briggs. 1848. 16mo. pp. 218.

*The Crown of Thorns: a Token for the Sorrowing.* By EDWIN H. CHAPIN. Boston: A. Tompkins. 1848. 32mo. pp. 147.

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THE former of the above-named books contains six valuable "Lectures" on the Position, Culture, Accomplishments, Duty, Influence, and Maternal Relation of Woman. In the latter we have the same number of excellent "Discourses," the topics of which are,—The Christian View of Sorrow; Christian Consolation in Loneliness; Resignation; The Mission of Little Children; Our Relations to the Departed; and the Voices of the Dead. We need say nothing more in commendation of these volumes, than that, in respect to thought, they are worthy of their author, and, as to style, are greatly superior to any other productions of his pen which we have seen. B—t.

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*The Incarnation. A Letter to Rev. John Fiske, D. D.* By WILLIAM B. GREENE. West Brookfield: Published by the Author. Jan. 1848. 12mo. pp. 52.

THIS Letter covers a large field of doctrine and contains much thought, but it is wanting in comprehensiveness and maturity. We cannot say that Mr. Greene's views strike us as altogether new. They seem rather to be the vigorous reproduction in his own mind of familiar, general truths, reclaimed from a somewhat isolated existence, arranged in systematic form, and deduced from certain texts of Scripture used as philosophical formulas. It is plain truth in the guise of metaphysics.

The theory of the Incarnation contained in the Letter is strictly Unitarian in its practical aspect, but is peculiar as resting on a basis entirely theological. The central thought is, that the life of the individual is sustained by concurrence with the life of other beings; the natural sinful life by concurrence with humanity, the spiritual holy life by concurrence with God. Man is redeemed by holiness, which is assimilation to God. But the energy of sin accumulated from the Fall has so broken the original sympathy between man and God, so obscured man's spiritual perception, that holiness is impossible. To make "the things of the Spirit of God" tangible to an evil race, a Mediator is necessary; and Christ, as this Mediator, "the middle term through whom the perfections of God may descend upon the children of Adam," is the Word, the Divine Wisdom incarnate. His whole life was in concurrence with the Father's; his food was the Father's Will and Truth; he is the ideal humanity; the Image and Fulness of God to the world. Man may now obtain holiness by being transformed into the image of this Mediator, and thus assimilated to God. This transformation is effected by *digesting* his truth (John vi. 57) and by obeying his example of disinterested love and self-sacrifice.



In connection with this general view, Mr. Greene holds a theory of the Trinity much resembling that of Coleridge, and a doctrine of the Reconciliation which is easily deduced from his leading principle. The criticisms upon the received doctrine of the Trinity and the Atonement are very trenchant, but not more so than is just.

F.

*Immigration into the United States.* By JESSE CHICKERING.  
Boston: Little & Brown. 1848. 8vo. pp. 94.

Dr. Chickering's essay on the "immigration of foreigners into the United States," their number, and the effect they are likely to produce on the character and institutions of our country, is well worthy of the attention of the public. It embodies a great amount of important statistical information, collected apparently from authentic sources. Several tables, with the necessary explanations, are given, embracing a period of twenty-six years, from October 1, 1820, to September 30, 1846. "The number of foreigners coming" in 1847 he states as "nearly 300,000," that is, "nearly equal to the present natural increase of the whole white population of the United States in 1840."

L.

*Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund. Organ für die gemeinsamen Interessen der Americanisch-deutschen Kirchen.* Herausgegeben von PHILIPP SCHAFF, Professor der Theologie in Mercersburg, Pa. Jan. 1848. [The Friend of the German Church, Organ of the Common Interests of the American German Churches. Edited by Philip Schaff, Professor of Theology, etc.]

PROFESSOR SCHAFF of Mercersburg, Penn., commenced in January of this year the publication of a religious journal, in the German language, with the title above given. The first number is full of interest, and contains six articles, on the following subjects:—1. The Design of the Publication; 2. German Literature in America; 3. Anselm of Canterbury; 4. "All is Yours"; 5. Brief Review of the Ecclesiastical Events of the Year 1847; 6. The Good Shepherd. The pamphlet derives its interest from the fact of its being mainly the production of a learned German, transplanted from the teeming literary soil of Germany to the United States, where he has lived sufficiently long to have become acquainted with our theology and ecclesiastical affairs.

The article on German Literature in America is able, and for the most part fair and candid. It makes a large, but reasonable, demand on the gratitude of the world for German learning and research. Of German philosophy Professor Schaff entertains a

higher estimate than will be conceded to it by the Anglo-Saxon mind. German theology is destined, he believes, to exert an important influence in the religious development of North America. There are, he supposes, at least three millions of Germans and their descendants in the United States, all more or less imbued with the German spirit. He looks forward to the time when they will be absorbed into the great mass of the American people, but will carry with them their own peculiarities to modify the grand product. He acknowledges the superior practical character of the American mind, and hopes for great results from the action of our national common sense upon German speculation, which he confesses is sometimes carried to extravagance. In a passing notice of Unitarianism, which he considers as one of the products of the revolutionary spirit of the last century, he says:—

“The eighteenth century may be called the age of revolution or destruction, but in removing rubbish it prepared for a century of re-creation. It had a glowing hatred of tyranny of any description, and struggled for freedom, but not the holy freedom of the sons of God; rather, the freedom of the flesh. It sought an earth without a heaven, a state without a church, a religion without a revelation, a Christianity without Christ, and man without God. Rationalism, under various forms, at that time peculiarly, pervaded the whole Church, and is confessedly not yet rooted out. In England and Scotland it appeared as deism, latitudinarianism, and indifference. In France, as bold materialism and atheism. In North America, it showed itself in a falling away to Unitarianism, Arianism, and Universalism, and in a general slumber of the churches.”

He advises those who study German theology to go to the bottom. A superficial acquaintance with it tends only to unbelief. He advises thoroughness on another account,—the approach of a great battle with Unbelief in the shape of Unitarianism.

“Whoever engages superficially with German theology and philosophy can hardly escape injury to his simple, childish faith; but he who wrestles with it manfully, and pursues the intricate and tedious process of investigation to the deepest foundation of our most holy faith, will afterwards be more firmly grounded than ever in Orthodoxy.

“Such a contest will our theology ere long be called to encounter. Nay, it has already begun, and that through the influence of the negative and infidel element of German literature. The Pantheism of the extreme left of the Hegel school has been transplanted among us. Unitarianism and Universalism arm themselves with foreign learning and speculation, and, if the signs of the times do not deceive us, we have before us a still more desperate struggle between belief and unbelief in the field of science. Surely, then, in order to meet this encounter with success, we stand in need of appropriate weapons. We must seek the enemy in his camp, and smite him with his own weapons. If we yield to him, or encounter him with our old, worn-out

armour, we shall justly expose ourselves to derision. Since the invention of gunpowder, we can gain no victories with bows and arrows."

We can assure our German friend, that we cherish no such bloodthirsty, ferocious dispositions as he supposes. The Unitarians are a very quiet, inoffensive people, intent, not on destroying, but on building up Christianity on a surer and more lasting foundation. We shall use German learning for the best of all purposes, to moderate and correct the extravagances of German speculation, both Orthodox and Infidel.

He ends by predicting the rise of a theology in this country more perfect than any that has gone before it, enriched with all the learning and wisdom of the past; and of a church adorned with all the virtues of saints and martyrs, and modelled on the true idea of the fellowship of the first-born of God. To this aspiration we heartily say, Amen!

B—p.

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\* \* WE have received from the publishers several reprints of works which need only to be named, as their merits are already known in our community. *Aurelian: or Rome in the Third Century. In Letters of Lucius M. Piso, from Rome, to Fausta the Daughter of Gracchus, at Palmyra.* By WILLIAM WARE, Author of 'Zenobia' and 'Julian' (in 2 vols. 12mo.) — a sequel to 'Zenobia' — was published nearly ten years ago under the name of 'Probus,' and soon republished, in several places abroad, under that of 'Aurelian,' which the writer has now himself adopted. We commend Mr. Ware's series of truthful fictions — for such they are — to every lover of a pure and instructive literature. — *The Birthday; a Sequel to the Well-Spent Hour.* By ELIZA LEE FOLLEN (18mo. pp. 160) was originally published under the second only of these titles. It presents an agreeable continuance of the 'Well-Spent Hour,' and yet may be read with pleasure and benefit by those who may not have seen the former story. — *Hours for Heaven* (32mo. pp. 109), "a small, but choice selection of prayers, from eminent divines of the Church of England," with "religious miscellanies," "sacred poetry," and "religious aphorisms," — the whole "intended as a devotional companion," — does not bear evidence on the title-page, as it should, that it is not a new compilation. It will be found a useful manual of piety. — *Self-Culture.* By WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D. D., with a *Biographical Sketch of the Author* (32mo. pp. 132) also appears, improperly, as if it were now first issued in this form. Of its merits we need not speak. — *Reminiscences of the Best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death, etc.* By JEAN PAUL FRIEDRICH RICHTER (32mo. pp. 98) contains, besides a reprint of the translations from Jean Paul, published under the

same title a few years ago, other extracts that increase its value.

C. S. Francis & Co. of New York have sent us *The Congregational Singing Book: a Collection of Sacred Music; consisting of the most familiar Psalm and Hymn Tunes, for Use in Churches, Sunday Schools, and Families* (16mo. pp. 78); of which, from its cheapness, from the excellence of the typographical execution, and from the good judgment shown in the selection of the hymns that accompany the tunes, and, as far as we can judge, of the tunes also, we are inclined to speak very favorably. — From Messrs. Crosby & Nichols we have received *The Two New Scholars, and other Stories*. By the Author of the "Young Farmers," etc. (18mo. pp. 88), of which a friend, to whose judgment we are accustomed to defer, observes, — "The book, as a whole, pleases me, and I think may be read by young children with much pleasure and advantage." — Messrs. Crosby & Nichols have just issued *The Gospel Narratives: their Origin, Peculiarities, and Transmission*. By HENRY A. MILES (16mo. pp. 168); — also *The General Features of the Moral Government of God*. By A. B. JACOBS, M. A. (16mo. pp. 90); of which we shall speak hereafter. — The same publishers have in press *The Marriage Offering, designed as a Gift to the Newly-married*. Edited by Rev. A. A. Livermore, containing 200 pages or more, 16mo. — They will also soon put to press a volume by Rev. G. W. Burnap of Baltimore, of about 150 pages, 16mo., entitled *Popular Objections to Unitarianism considered and answered, in seven Lectures*. — Messrs. J. Munroe & Co. have in press a revised edition of a volume of Lectures by Rev. Mr. Burnap, under the title of *What is Unitarianism?*

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- The Statesman and the Man. A Discourse on Occasion of the Death of Hon. John Quincy Adams, delivered in Washington, February 27, 1848.* By JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN, Pastor of the Unitarian Church. Washington. 1848. 8vo. pp. 23.
- A Discourse on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams, delivered in the Unitarian Church, February 27, 1848.* By GEORGE W. HOSMER. Buffalo. 1848. 8vo. pp. 24.
- Discourse on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams; delivered the Sabbath after his Death, February 27, 1848, at the Church of the Saviour.* By R. C. WATERSTON. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 22.
- A Discourse on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams, preached at the Church of the Saviour, on Sunday Evening, March 5, 1848.* By the Pastor, FREDERICK A. FARLEY. Brooklyn. 1848. 8vo. pp. 32.



*A Discourse delivered in Quincy, March 11, 1848, at the Interment of John Quincy Adams, Sixth President of the United States.* By WILLIAM P. LUNT, Minister of the First Congregational Church in Quincy. [With an Appendix.] Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 60.

*A Eulogy on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams, delivered at the Request of the Legislature of Massachusetts, in Faneuil Hall, April 15, 1848.* By EDWARD EVERETT. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 72.

WE separate these pamphlets from others noticed in our present number, not only because they relate to a common subject, but because they afford us an opportunity of saying a word upon a point on which contradictory opinions, and even opposite statements, have been given to the public. The decease of Mr. Adams has probably called forth more sermons than any similar event since the death of Washington. We have seen, besides those of which we have given the titles, one by Rev. Theodore Parker, a phonographic report of which appeared in the Boston "Chronotype," and one by Rev. Samuel J. May, printed in the "Syracuse Journal"; and we may add discourses by Rev. Dr. Sharp, and Messrs. Chapin and Hague, of this city. Of the merits of these several productions it is not necessary to speak. They are all valuable, and are marked by those characteristics of the respective writers which prove them to be genuine fruits of their own thought. President Everett's Eulogy seems to us fully to sustain his reputation as an accomplished orator; it is a model of classic beauty inspired with Christian life. Mr. Lunt's discourse may be allowed to claim precedence of all the clerical addresses, as the most complete in plan and execution; and we do not wonder that the Congressional Committee before whom it was delivered requested a copy to be appended to the publication "of the proceedings, etc., attending the demise of Mr. Adams."

These discourses all concur in representing Mr. Adams as a religious man, — intelligently, habitually, consistently religious, — religious from faith in God, in Christ, and in the holy Scriptures. They also agree in representing him as free from any sectarian bias. But there does not appear to be a perfect agreement in regard to his theological opinions. Mr. Hosmer and Mr. Farley seem, at least, to claim him as a Unitarian; Mr. Allen, Mr. Waterston, and Mr. Lunt do not speak of him as belonging to any denomination; while from a discourse delivered before a Trinitarian congregation in this city, and published in one of the journals of the day, an impression would be received, that, though not a decided Trinitarian or Calvinist, he was as little of a Unitarian. The truth we suppose to be precisely this.

John Quincy Adams was not, like his father, an earnest advocate of the Unitarian faith; but he was in no sense a Trinitarian. He worshipped with churches of different denominations. He gave the sanction of his presence to the earliest attempt that was made to gather a Unitarian congregation in Washington, and was for many years a member of that society, — at other times, however, attending at the Capitol or on the services of a Presbyterian society. At Quincy he also worshipped at the Unitarian meeting-house, and during his Presidency became a communicant in that house. If his views of the person of Christ were sufficiently definite to allow him to be placed with any class of doctrinal believers, we might be justified in calling him a semi-Arian; but he more probably belonged to that once numerous, but now almost extinct body, which avoids any precise determination of the Saviour's metaphysical nature. Mr. Farley makes large use of a communication to the "*Christian Palladium*," published in the interior of New York, (not in Boston, as he supposes,) in which the writer gives a particular account of a conversation which he held with Mr. Adams on a visit paid to him at Quincy, a year or more before his death. We regard with such unmingled disgust the indelicacy that will turn the generous civilities of life into the means of gratifying the morbid curiosity either of an individual or of the public, that we can bring ourselves to refer to this communication only that we may record our protest against any encouragement of a practice so contrary to sound morals and good manners.

The events of Mr. Adams's history present him as filling a larger period of public service than any other man that has ever lived in this country. Born in Braintree, Mass., July 11, 1767, — at the age of fourteen acting as private secretary to the American Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg, — after a period of academical and professional study and legal practice, pursued at Cambridge, Newburyport, and Boston, in 1794 appointed by Washington Minister to the Netherlands, — from 1797 to 1801 Minister to the Court of Prussia, — in 1801, on his return home, a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, — from 1803 to 1808 in the Senate of the United States, — in 1809 appointed Minister to Russia, where he remained till 1814, — in that year one of the Commissioners for negotiating the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, — in 1815 and 1816 Minister Plenipotentiary near the former government, — from 1817 to 1825 Secretary of State, under President Monroe, — in 1825 chosen President of the United States, — in 1831, after two years of retirement from public life, again entering its service, and from 1831 to 1848 a Representative in Congress, — struck by the hand of death in his seat, and breathing his last

under the roof of the Capitol, on the 23d of February, 1848,— he was from childhood to a period reaching beyond fourscore years in the eye of the nation and the world. How well he sustained himself, the honors that in successive advancement sought him — not were sought by him — bear witness. Of extraordinary powers of application, and unwearied industry, with a memory that never lost its hold on what it had once seized, methodical in his habits, simple in his tastes, sometimes borne beyond the limit of a due moderation by his impetuous feelings, but always taking principle as the guide of life, a diligent and daily student of the Bible, entertaining the highest reverence for sacred things, a passionate lover of liberty, and an humble disciple of Jesus Christ, he has left a name which will stand bright and pure till the American republic itself shall have passed from the notice or knowledge of men. The last word of his public life, pronounced in giving his vote against a measure of which he disapproved, was “No”; the last sentence that escaped his lips, “I am composed”; — the one significant of that integrity which governed his whole course as a public man, the other expressive of that faith which shed its influence over his whole character.

G.

*One God, the Father. A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the Church belonging to the Free Christian Congregation of Elgin, Kane County, Ill.* By WILLIAM ADAM, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Chicago. Chicago. 1848. 8vo. pp. 20.

*Some Thoughts on the most Christian Use of Sunday: a Sermon preached at the Melodeon, January 30.* By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the XXVIIIth Congregational Church in Boston. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1848. 8vo. pp. 51.

*The Modern Pulpit. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Samuel Longfellow, at Fall River, Mass., February 16, 1848.* By JOHN WEISS, Minister of the Unitarian Church, New Bedford. With the Right Hand of Fellowship and Address to the Society. Fall River. 1848. 8vo.

*An Appeal to the Young. A Sermon preached at Portsmouth, N. H., March 12, 1848.* By ANDREW P. PEABODY, Pastor of the South Church in Portsmouth. Portsmouth: J. W. Foster & Son. 1848. 12mo. pp. 18.

*The Church as it was, as it is, as it ought to be. A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Chapel built by the Church of the Disciples, Wednesday, March 15, 1848.* By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, Pastor of the Church. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1848. 8vo. pp. 36.

*The Value of Man. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Hon. Henry Wheaton; delivered March 19, 1848, in the*

*First Congregational Church, Providence, R. I.* By EDWARD B. HALL, Pastor of the Church. Providence: C. Burnett, Jr. 1848. 8vo. pp. 23.

Mr. Adam's subject, as was proper, was selected in reference to the position of the "new church," — among a people to whom the views advocated, though "chronologically old," would necessarily appear "new"; it is treated with clearness, simplicity, and in a truly Christian spirit, that speak well for the preacher and the cause. — To criticize Mr. Parker's Sermon, or point out parts of it which conflict with our own views, or to censure it for an occasional tone, especially in the earlier pages, of what seems to us as superficial dogmatism, would not be difficult; but we cheerfully bear testimony to the many just and noble thoughts it contains, and do not hesitate to affirm, that nothing can be better than most of what he says on the use and abuse of Sunday, especially in reference to New England. We have no fault to find with his estimate of the Puritan character and virtues. — Mr. Weiss maintains, that "the pulpit is the great conservator of public and private virtue"; he refers to some causes which lessen its influence, and then proceeds to show what he conceives to be its "central position" in "the great moral truths in which all sects agree, except during the assumptions of theology." He makes the application to the present state of society among us in several particulars, and altogether the sermon bears the clear stamp of earnestness and power. — Mr. Peabody's Sermon is what it professes to be, not an "elaborate discourse," but "a simple appeal in behalf of religious principle, as the ornament of youth and the guide of life." It is serious, clear, and forcible, — such a discourse as cannot fail of making an impression. — Mr. Clarke, in his Dedication Discourse, expresses his thoughts with his usual freedom and independence; in the "critical" part he gives evidence of his eclecticism; in regard to the Church of the future he is hopeful, believing that it will be emphatically a "working church," but variously organized. We think, however, that he exaggerates both the practicability and importance of a union of Christians irrespective of doctrinal differences. — Mr. Hall's Discourse on the Death of Mr. Wheaton we should place among his best performances. It is marked by vigorous and discriminating thought, and contains biographical matter and general and appropriate reflection in such proportions and so arranged, that the reader is conducted to the conclusion with a growing interest, and lays down the Discourse with his feelings warmed and elevated.



## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Ecclesiastical Record.* — We regret that the continued ill health of Rev. Mr. Sewall of Scituate has caused him again to resign the ministry which his people had persuaded him to retain, and which he now finally relinquishes. — We are sorry to record other terminations of the ministerial relation. Rev. Mr. Stetson has resigned his office as pastor of the church in Medford. — Rev. Mr. Sargent of Somerville has closed his ministry in that place. — Rev. Mr. Caldwell has relinquished the charge of the congregations in Hampton Falls and Kensington, N. H. — Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York has gone to Europe, where he will spend the summer. Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth will preach at the church of the Divine Unity the next three months, and will have the editorial charge of the "Christian Inquirer." — Rev. William Ware has also left home for a few months' residence in Italy. — Rev. Mr. Motte of Boston has accepted for a year an engagement with the society at Brattleboro', Vt., which they were anxious to extend to an indefinite length. — Rev. George W. Weeks, formerly a preacher in the Methodist Connection, but now a Unitarian, has become the minister of the society in Pomfret, Vt.

While our old societies are suffering from the frequent changes which death or necessity or caprice occasions in the ministry, new churches of our faith spring up, demanding a supply of preachers. — At this moment, the Unitarian congregations in the eight neighbouring towns of Somerville, Medford, Woburn, West Cambridge, Bedford, Lexington, Watertown, and Lincoln, all of them within twelve miles of Boston, are destitute of settled ministers. — At Hopkinton, Mass., a meeting-house formerly owned by a Methodist society has been bought for Unitarian worship, and is now undergoing repairs. — A Unitarian society has been formed in each of the contiguous towns of East and West Thomaston, Me., with the advantage of finding two meeting-houses erected by another denomination ready for their use. — The Purchase Street congregation in this city, being on the point of removal to their new house in Harrison Avenue, have sold the house which they will quit, and which, it is understood, will become a place of Roman Catholic worship. — The lawsuit in which the Bulfinch Street society in Boston has been for several years engaged, in regard to the rights of some of the former proprietors of the house, has been decided in favor of the society.

The Secretary of the American Unitarian Association is busily engaged in the duties of his office, and finds both encouragement to labor and the recompense of success.

*Dedications.* — The First Congregational Society in ATHOL, Mass., having remodelled their meeting-house, it was dedicated anew December 8, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Athol, from Galatians vi. 9; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Everett of Northfield; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Adams, and Wellington of Templeton.

The Unitarian meeting-house in ELGIN, Ill., was dedicated January 19, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Adam of Chicago, Ill., from 1 Corinthians viii. 6; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Conant, of Geneva, Ill.; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Adams of Burlington, Wis., Conant, and Adam.

The meeting-house erected by the First Congregational Society in LEXINGTON, Mass.,—a previous edifice that was nearly ready for use, in place of their old house, having been burned to the ground,—was dedicated February 23, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, from 2 Chronicles xxiv. 13, and 2 Corinthians v. 18, 20; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Dorr of East Lexington; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Newell and Muzzey of Cambridge and Stetson of Medford.

The "Chapel built by the Church of the Disciples" in BOSTON, Mass., was dedicated March 15, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke, the Minister, from Matthew xvi. 18; the Dedicatory Prayer was read by the Minister and Congregation; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Hall of Dorchester, and Peabody and Barrett of Boston. The name of "Freeman Place" has been given to the court in which the chapel stands, in memory of Rev. Dr. Freeman, former minister of King's Chapel in this city.

The First Congregational Society in WEST BRIDGEWATER, Mass., having remodelled their meeting-house, it was dedicated anew April 6, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Brigham of Taunton, from Leviticus xix. 30; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Quimby of Taunton; and the other services were performed by Rev. Messrs. Whitman of East Bridgewater and Bradford of South Bridgewater.

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*Ordinations and Installations.*—REV. HENRY FRANCIS HARRINGTON, formerly of Albany, N. Y., was installed as Minister of the First Unitarian Society in LAWRENCE, Mass., February 29, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston, from 1 Timothy iii. 9; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell; the Address to the People was given by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Richardson of Haverhill and Gage of Lancaster.

REV. ARTHUR BUCKMINSTER FULLER, of Cambridge, was ordained as Minister of the First Unitarian Society in MANCHESTER, N. H., March 29, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, from Colossians i. 12-14; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Muzzey of Cambridge; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Alger of Roxbury; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H., Barry of Lowell, and Peabody of Portsmouth, N. H.

REV. CAZNEAU PALFREY, late of Barnstable, Mass., was installed over the First Congregational Church and Society in BELFAST, Me., April 19, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem, from Ephesians iv. 5, 6; the Prayer of Installation was offered, and the Charge was given, by Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston; the Right

Hand of Fellowship was given by Rev. Mr. Cole of Hallowell, Me.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Cutler of Portland, Me.; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Cole and Cutler.

REV. SAMUEL FULTON CLARKE, of Dublin, N. H., a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as Pastor of the First Congregational Church in ATHOL, Mass., April 19, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Leonard of Dublin, N. H., from Isaiah xxxiii. 6; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Cutler of Peterboro', N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Charlemont; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Adams of Templeton and Gray of Boston.

REV. GEORGE W. WEEKS, of Brookfield, was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian church in POMFRET, Vt., by a council convened in Brookfield, Mass., April 12, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hale of Worcester, from 2 Peter iii. 3, 4; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Greene of Brookfield; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Ball of Ware; Rev. Mr. Simmons of Springfield was appointed to address the Society by letter; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Nightingale of Cabotville, Simmons of Springfield, and Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre.

#### OBITUARY.

MR. WILLIAM CHECKLEY SHAW died in Baltimore, Md., January 8, 1848, aged 56.

Mr. Shaw was born in Marshfield, Mass., October 25, 1792. His father was the Rev. William Shaw, D. D., who for fifty years was pastor of the First Congregational church in that town; his mother was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, pastor of the New Brick church in Boston. His parentage being clerical on both sides, he was early trained to religious and devotional habits. His childhood, with the exception of one year, was passed at home, in uninterrupted health and happiness, and was remarkable only for its truthfulness, filial obedience, affection, and freedom from the selfishness which often characterizes those who, like him, have no companion of their own age and sex to share their sports. Having a good capacity and a fondness for books, his father was desirous of giving him the advantages of a collegiate education, and prepared him in part for it, designing him for a professional life; but circumstances determined him to mercantile pursuits, and he was placed, at the age of sixteen, in a counting-house in Boston. The untried scenes and temptations of a city life never caused him to deviate from that strict integrity and purity of character which had marked his earlier years. He became of age during the war with Great Britain, when the obstructions to commerce were such as to give him no prospect of business for a long time in the branch for which he had prepared himself, and, after spending a year in Rhode Island, he formed a copartnership for the purpose of establishing a commission house in Baltimore. His enterprise, industry, judgment, and integrity were crowned with the success they merited, and he retired from business early in life, with an ample fortune. He had the wisdom, so rare among merchants, to know when and where to stop. No business or

success, however, could change his character or impair the deep religious impressions of his youth. They were with him at all times, and made him a model of excellence in every relation of life, as a husband, father, brother, friend, and member of the Church of Christ. He was the friend of the poor, and a patron of every charitable enterprise. He was zealous in the cause of religious truth, and generous in his contributions to the cause of Liberal Christianity, but with the most perfect charity and liberality to all who bear the Christian name. His death was answerable to his life, — resigned, serene, hopeful. His parting spirit triumphed over agony, and words of comfort were the last he uttered.

The example of such men is precious. They show the world the true and Christian use of wealth, that it can be applied to nobler purposes than those of selfishness and ostentation. B.

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HON. HENRY WHEATON, LL. D., died at Dorchester, Mass., March 11, 1848, aged 63 years.

Mr. Wheaton was born in Providence, R. I., November 27, 1785, and graduated at Brown University in 1802. After being admitted to the bar, he passed some time in Europe, and established himself, upon his return, in the city of New York, in 1812. For three years he was editor of the *National Advocate*. In 1815 he published a treatise on Maritime Law, and in 1816 became Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which situation he retained for twelve years. He took a conspicuous position in the legislature of New York, and in 1826 received the high honor of a place on the Commission for revising the laws of that State. In 1827 his diplomatic career began with his appointment as *Chargé d'Affaires* at Copenhagen. In 1834 he went to Berlin as Resident Minister, and from 1837 to 1846 remained in the Prussian capital as Minister Plenipotentiary. He returned home in 1847.

His chief works are his *Life of William Pinckney*, 1826; *History of the Northmen*, 1831; *History of Scandinavia* (Edinburgh), 1838; *Elements of International Law*, 1836; *History of International Law*, 1844. His various contributions to periodical journals, his orations, addresses, and diplomatic papers, are too numerous to be mentioned even in the most general classification.

Mr. Wheaton's life exhibited from beginning to end a remarkable unity. Law was his study, and literature his recreation. He rose constantly towards the heights of his noble profession, and his horizon widened as he ascended. The law of nations — that science which promises to be the handmaid of justice and humanity — is identified with his name. As a diplomatist, he was at once patient of details and mindful of principles. As a scholar, he was earnest, indefatigable, persevering; in his way an enthusiast, if not for a Utopian ideal, for a knowledge of those facts upon which rests the truth with all its power and promise. He was a decided, consistent Christian; in opinion, Unitarian; in spirit, catholic. He was an early and active friend of our cause in New York. In the humanity and enlargement that characterize his writings, we see traces of a faith that is wont to view men and nations as children of the Heavenly Father, and as subjects of a kingdom of justice and good-will.

The progress of mankind in true civilization, peace, and order cannot but add honor to the memory of Henry Wheaton. O.



\* \* Dr. Chase's Letter on the Notice of the "Revised Version" of the "Apostolical Constitutions."

[We very cheerfully give insertion to the following communication from Dr. Chase, simply observing, that we are pleased to find that his views of the original character of the "Constitutions," as also of the orthodoxy of the ante-Nicene Fathers as measured by the standard of a later age, do not differ so widely from those of the writer of the article referred to, as the expression which occurs in the Preface was thought to imply. For the rest, we are willing to leave the subject where it is, seeing no cause to change our views as to either the origin and character of the "Constitutions," or the value of Krabbe's Essay, but feeling no disposition to withhold from our readers the remarks and comments of the learned translator and editor, whom we again thank for his useful labors. — Eds.]

"Boston, March 11, 1848.

"MESSRS. EDITORS, —

"After the candid and courteous manner in which you have been pleased to speak of me, in the last number of the *Christian Examiner*, in connection with 'the work claiming to be the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles,' I am particularly desirous of removing an erroneous impression from your minds and from the minds of your readers. It seems to have been inferred from a clause in my Preface, that I would represent the Apostolical Constitutions as having expressed themselves in the style of the Athanasian creed, until they suffered interpolations. Certainly, I did not intend thus to represent either those Constitutions or the writings generally of the ante-Nicene Fathers.

"Epiphanius, about A. D. 380, pronounced the Constitutions free from heterodoxy, as he would also the writings of most of those early Fathers. Doubtless he had some way of explaining in an orthodox sense those expressions of theirs which seem to be Arian. At least, he was not disposed to declare them heretical. But in what was written after the rise of the Arian controversy, certain phrases and certain modes of representation acquired a kind of technical character, and, as matters then stood, were pretty clearly adverse to the system of Athanasius. Now some of these occur in the Constitutions as they are at present; and, in rejecting this work, the Trullan Council declare it to have received 'certain things spurious and unknown to the Church.' Photius, too, the learned Patriarch of Constantinople, in speaking of the Constitutions (*as they were in his time*) mentions Arianism as a charge from which they could not easily be defended.

"In view of these facts, permit me to recall to your attention the passage in my Preface to which I have referred: — 'In the fourth century arose the Arian controversy, a storm which fiercely agitated Christendom more than sixty years, and did not entirely die away for ages. After the many fluctuations connected with that controversy, and long after the ascendancy of the views of Athanasius, it was found that the Constitutions had been corrupted, probably by some Arian hand; and accordingly a decree against them was passed by the general council at Constantinople, A. D. 692; saving, however, the authority of the eighty-five canons. It has been thought that the decree was owing also, in some measure, to latent political reasons. Be this as it may,

the work, in most respects, continued, and it still continues, to exhibit what had long been to many the beau-ideal of the Church.'

"The clause 'probably by some Arian hand,' was used with no invidious design, but only because it seemed to me to be required by the evidence in the case. An Athanasian hand would have labored to introduce into an ancient writing expressions decidedly hostile to Arianism; but an Arian hand would naturally present such as we now find, some of which appear to be irreconcilably opposed to that system which was perfected in the Athanasian creed.

"If the testimonies of the Trullan Council and of Photius and others could be invalidated, as arising from party spirit and a desire to destroy the influence of the Constitutions, which manifestly favored what has been denominated 'the Arian system of subordination,' still it would be difficult to set those testimonies entirely aside. That there was some ground for the charge of interpolation can hardly be denied. But the interpolating may have been exaggerated; and, from a comparatively few instances, occasion may have been eagerly taken to disparage and condemn the whole work.

"Having said thus much for the purpose of removing a misapprehension in regard to my own views, I think it due to the author of the Essay on the Origin and Contents of the Apostolical Constitutions to invite your attention to a few words of his which may be found on pages 429 and 430:—'Those who place the Constitutions in an earlier time could, perhaps, adduce for the explanation of this circumstance the consideration, that the ante-Nicene Fathers, especially in the doctrine concerning the Trinity, very often employ many expressions which afterwards, in the Arian controversies, were assailed. The fact is incontestably true. Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen use phrases and expressions which are found among the Arians. But, since neither the Arians nor the Catholics in their controversies used the Constitutions, and these were adduced neither for nor against Arianism, it may be inferred from this silence, especially from that of Athanasius, that neither party had any knowledge of the Constitutions with their present Arian corruptions.'

"In regard to what has been achieved in the Essay, the field of discussion is so broad that there is room for some diversity of judgment touching certain points; but that the author is worthy of a respectful hearing cannot be seriously called in question. To some it may be gratifying and useful to see the following statement in the decision pronounced by the Faculty of the University of Bonn:—'*Diligentiam plane eximiam expendendis veterum testimoniis moderandisque recentiorum aut profligandis opinionibus probavit, et ad vindicandam septem priorum librorum unitatem originalem, ad intelligendas interpolationes demonstrandamque octavi libri seriorem accessionem nova quædam, eaque non mala attulit.*'

"Thanking you, Messrs. Editors, for the generous interest which you have shown in commending the volume to the favorable consideration of your readers, I am, as ever,

"Yours, with much respect and Christian love,

"IRAH CHASE."

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
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
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